

DE GRUYTER

Kifayat Ullah

AL-KASHSHAF

AL-ZAMAKSHARI'S MUTAZILITE EXEGESIS OF
THE QUR'AN

Kifayat Ullah

Al-Kashshāf

Al-Zamakhsharī's Mu'tazilite Exegesis of the Qur'ān

DE GRUYTER

Contents

Preface — IX

Introduction — 1

Part I: Al-Zamakhsharī' Life and Works

Chapter 1

Al-Zamakhsharī's Biography — 11

Chapter 2

Al-Kashshāf — 33

Chapter 3

Al-Zamakhsharī's Methodology of *Tafsīr* — 58

Part II: The Five Principles

Chapter 4

The Five Principles (*al-uṣūl al-khamṣa*) — 97

Chapter 5

Second Principle: Justice (*ʿadl*) — 139

Chapter 6

Third Principle: The Promise and the Threat (*al-waʿd wa al-waʿd*) — 162

Chapter 7

Fourth Principle: The Intermediate Position between Belief and Unbelief (*al-manzila bayna al-manzilatayn*) — 177

Chapter 8

Fifth Principle: Enjoining what is Right and Forbidding what is Wrong (*al-amr bi al-maʿrūf wa al-nahy ʿan al-munkar*) — 188

Conclusion — 195

Introduction

Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī is one of the last widely known and outstanding Ḥanafī Mu‘tazilite scholars who made important contributions in the fields of Qur’ānic exegesis, traditions, theology, jurisprudence, grammar, lexicography and literature. Mu‘tazilism continued to thrive in Khwārazm, at least until the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century, while in the rest of the Muslim world it had already declined.¹

Al-Zamakhsharī was born in 467/1075 at Zamakhshar in Khwārazm, and died in 538/1144 in Jurjāniyya, where he was buried. Al-Zamakhsharī travelled for purposes of education and visited Mecca twice and stayed there for a period of approximately twelve years. His first visit took place sometime between 500/1106 and 518/1124, and his second visit was in 526/1131 when he stayed for seven years, hence he was given the honorific title of *Jār Allāh* (Neighbor of God).

The biographical dictionaries mention that al-Zamakhsharī acquired his education from approximately eleven scholars, and studied exegesis, traditions, theology, jurisprudence, grammar, lexicography, and literature. These sources also identify about twenty-six of his students. In most of the cases they mention what students studied with or transmitted from al-Zamakhsharī, but in some cases information regarding their fields of study is not available. His command over Arabic was superb, and unparalleled. He was an outstanding scholar of his time who excelled in many sciences. He composed approximately fifty works during his lifetime.

In the year 512/1118 al-Zamakhsharī suffered a serious illness (*nāhika*) and warning (*mundhira*).² He made a covenant with God that if he were cured from the illness he would lead the life of guidance (*al-hudā*), desist from the desires (*al-hawā*) and devote his lifetime in pursuit of the readings of the Qur’ān, the tradition and jurisprudence.³

Primarily, al-Zamakhsharī’s fame rests upon the Qur’ān commentary of *al-Kashshāf ‘an ḥaqā’iq al-tanzīl wa ‘uyūn al-ghawāmiḍ fī wujūh al-ta’wīl*, which he began to write upon his arrival in Mecca in 526/1132, and completed in 528/1134. Al-Zamakhsharī’s commentary contains a quintessence of Mu‘tazilite

1 W. Madelung, *The Theology of al-Zamakhsharī*,” *Actas del XII Congreso de la U.E.A.I.* (Malaga, 1984) (Madrid: Union Europeenne d’Arabesants et d’Islamisants, 1986), 485; W. Madelung, “The Spread of Maturidism and the Turks,” in *Actas IV Congresso de Estudos Arabes e Islamicos Coimbra-Lisboa* 1968 (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 116.

2 Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *Maqāmāt* (Miṣr: Maṭba’a al-Tawfīq, 1906), 5.

3 Al-Zamakhsharī, *Maqāmāt*, 6–7.

doctrine which was adopted from the earlier Mu'tazilite exegetes; however, frequently he presented his own views. He mentions the views of both the schools – Baṣra and Baghdād, but does not associate himself to any one of them. He was familiar with the Mu'tazilite theology of Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025) and also studied the doctrine of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044) which is evident in his Mu'tazilite creed *al-Minhāj fī uṣūl al-dīn*.⁴

Wilferd Madelung describes that, “For the Mu'tazilites, *al-Kashshāf* represents the peak of intellectual achievement in Qur'ān commentary.”⁵ According to Andrew Rippin, “The distinctiveness of al-Zamakhsharī's Qur'ān commentary lies in his Mu'tazilī theological leanings...The Mu'tazilī doctrines of the unity and justice of God and the consequent ideas of the human free will and the need to deanthropomorphize the Qur'ān become the prime themes of the distinctive passages of interpretation.”⁶

Since its inception, *al-Kashshāf* has been subject to both explication and orthodox Sunnī criticism which centered on the basic principles of the Mu'tazilite theology. Those who have denounced and criticized *al-Kashshāf* include leading scholars of Sunnī orthodoxy. Yet, at the same time, al-Zamakhsharī's *tafsīr* was cited, adopted, and commented upon by the orthodox community and there are an almost endless number of glosses, superglosses, and supercommentaries on it. The work by al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca 685/1286), *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl* is the most famous attempt to distill the essence of al-Zamakhsharī's work while attempting to omit those views considered reprehensible to Sunnī orthodoxy. Ibn al-Munayyir (d. 683/1284) in his *Kitāb al-Intiṣāf min al-Kashshāf* refuted al-Zamakhsharī's Mu'tazilite interpretations. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) in his *Tafsīr al-kabīr*, Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī (d. 745/1344) in his *Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) in his *Muqaddima* and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) all criticized al-Zamakhsharī's Mu'tazilite views.⁷

Modern scholarship on al-Zamakhsharī is divided on the extent to which his *tafsīr* expresses Mu'tazilite doctrine and approach. One study by Lupti Ibrahim compares the significance of al-Zamakhsharī and al-Bayḍāwī in Muslim theology and examines their works *al-Kashshāf* and *Anwār al-tanzīl* which represent the views of the Mu'tazilites and the Ash'arites respectively. His study concludes that al-Zamakhsharī as a Mu'tazilite gives priority to reason over revelation,

4 W. Madelung, “al-Zamakhsharī,” *EI² Supplement*, 12:840 – 41.

5 Madelung, *Theology of al-Zamakhsharī*, 485.

6 Rippin, “al-Zamakhsharī,” *ER*, 16:554.

7 Madelung, *Theology of al-Zamakhsharī*, 485.

whereas, al-Bayḍāwī as an Ash‘arite maintains that revelation has priority over reason.”⁸

Another study written by Fazlur Rahman, within the framework of the Mu‘tazilites’ five principles, examines al-Zamakhsharī’s various techniques to substantiate his Mu‘tazilite views, such as rational orientation, variant readings of the Qur’ān, support from the Prophetic traditions, usage of similitudes and parables, extension of certain words’ meanings and syntactical methods. He concludes that al-Zamakhsharī’s unshakable conviction in the Mu‘tazilite theology is reflected in his tafsīr of *al-Kashshāf*.⁹

Michael Schub states that according to Henri Fleisch, al-Zamakhsharī’s concise grammatical magnum opus *al-Mufaṣṣal* deals with almost all of the topics included in Sibawayh’s *Kitāb*.¹⁰ Schub’s main thesis is that al-Zamakhsharī significantly and extensively treats these topics covered in *al-Mufaṣṣal* in his commentary of *al-Kashshāf*. Al-Zamakhsharī is an excellent linguist who examines the Qur’ānic text in the light of relevant context and he evaluates various possible readings, or attempts a diachronic explanation. He is an innovative and critical analyst of textual material and does not hesitate to break with the accepted grammatical wisdom of his time. He concludes that al-Zamakhsharī provides many extra-linguistic bits of information which are potentially very illuminating. He is especially insightful in analyzing the syntactic problems. Although al-Zamakhsharī tends to look at verses of the Qur’ān bearing on theological issues through the Mu‘tazilite perspective, his view of those verses containing grammatical problems is, generally speaking, scientific in that it is unbiased as to meaning.¹¹

Andrew Lane argues in his study that “while al-Zamakhsharī may be well known for his ‘Mu‘tazilite’ commentary on the Qur’ān, exegesis in general and Mu‘tazilism in particular are hardly representative of his literary output... al-Zamakhsharī was neither a theologian nor even a religious scholar in the more limited sense of the word.”¹²

8 Lupti Ibrahim, *The Theological Questions at Issue between al-Zamakhsharī and al-Bayḍāwī with special reference to al-Kashshāf and Anwār al-tanzīl*. Ph.D. Thesis (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1977), v.

9 Fazlur Rahman, *Zamakhsharī kī tafsīr al-Kashshāf: ek taḥlīlī jā’iza* (Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University, 1982), 482–88.

10 Henri Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe* (Beirut: Dar al-Mashriq, 1990), 1:40.

11 Michael B. Schub, *Linguistic Topics in al-Zamakhsharī’s Commentary on the Qur’ān*. Ph.D. Dissertation (Berkeley: University of California, 1977), 1–34.

12 Andrew J. Lane, *A Traditional Mu‘tazilite Qur’ān Commentary: The Kashshāf of Jār Allāh al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144)* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006), 46.

My book is divided into two parts. The first part, which consists of three chapters, deals with al-Zamakhsharī's biography, al-Kashshāf, and al-Zamakhsharī's methodology of tafsīr. The first chapter is devoted to the biography of al-Zamakhsharī, which provides information about his early life, education, teachers from whom he received his education and the fields of studies, his students, the works composed by him, his travels and visits to Mecca, and his intellectual crisis.

The second chapter deals with the transmission of *al-Kashshāf* after its completion, and its manuscripts. According to Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. Muṭayr al-Yamanī, Abū al-Ma'ālī Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī al-Shaybānī, a *qāḍī* in Mecca, transmitted *al-Kashshāf* from al-Zamakhsharī to his nephew Abū al-Ma'ālī Mājid b. Sulaymān b. al-Fihri (d. 655/1257), who then transmitted it to others.¹³

The earliest manuscript was copied only four years after al-Zamakhsharī's death and fourteen years after he had finished the commentary in Mecca. *Al-Fihris al-shāmil* mentions 843 manuscripts, out of which 443 bear the date or century in which they were copied and they are available in various libraries and museums of the world.¹⁴ Out of 443 dated manuscripts, Lane has analyzed 250 manuscripts most of which are in Istanbul. No other book in the history of tafsīr has been commented upon in the forms of *sharḥs*, *ḥāshiyas*, and *mukhtaṣars* more than *al-Kashshāf*. Hājji Khalīfa (d. 1067/1657) in his *Kashf al-zūnūn* lists approximately fifty commentaries.¹⁵ *Al-Fihris al-shāmil* mentions seventy-three *sharḥs*, *ḥāshiyas*, and *mukhtaṣars*.¹⁶ According to Lane, more than eighty scholars have written *sharḥs*, *ḥāshiyas*, and *mukhtaṣars*. Some of these commentaries have been written by well-known scholars, while other scholars are known by the names on the manuscripts of the *sharḥs*, *ḥāshiyas*, and *mukhtaṣars* that have survived, although some works on the *Kashshāf* bear no name at all. The issue of *khalq al-Qur'ān* and scholars' opinions about *al-Kashshāf* are also discussed.

The third chapter describes al-Zamakhsharī's methodology of tafsīr. Despite the fact that his tafsīr follows the text of the Qur'ān from the beginning to the

13 Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn fī tā'rīkh al-balad al-amīn*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, 1967), 7:138–39.

14 *Al-Fihris al-shāmil li-l-turāth al-'Arabī al-Islāmī al-makḥṭūṭ: 'ulūm al-Qur'ān makḥṭūṭat al-tafsīr*, ed. Al-Majma' al-Malakī li-Buḥūth al-Haḍāra al-Islāmī ('Ammān: Mu'assasat Āl al-Bayt, 1987), 2:368–510.

15 Muṣṭafā b. 'Abd Allāh Mullā Kātib al-Chelbī Hājji Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zūnūn 'an asāmi' al-kutub wa-al-funūn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1992), 2: 1475–84.

16 *Al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:511–28.

end, and he uses some of the elements of a traditional Qur'ān commentary, such as “interpretation of the Qur'ān by means of the Qur'ān” (*tafsīr al-Qur'ān bi-al-Qur'ān*), use of the *aḥādīth*, and the variant readings of the Qur'ān (*qirā'āt*), his exegetical techniques differ from the standard format of traditional exegesis. The main characteristics of his *tafsīr* are: emphasis on the perspicuous (*muḥkam*) and ambiguous (*mutashābih*) verses, significance of science of expression (*ilm al-ma'ānī*) and science of semantics and syntax (*ilm al-bayān*), question and answer format (*as'ila wa-ajwiba*), and extensive grammatical use. These components of exegesis are uniquely applied by him throughout *al-Kashshāf*.

The second part of the book consists of five chapters, and examines and analyzes al-Zamakhsharī's *al-Kashshāf*, within the context of the Mu'tazilites' five principles (*uṣūl al-khamsa*). Muḥammad b. Hudhayl b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Makhūl al-'Abdī al-'Allāf Abū al-Hudhayl (d. 226/841) is purported to have been the first who created a reliable dogmatic framework and defined *al-uṣūl al-khamsa* “the five principles” of the Mu'tazilites, which he developed in his *Kitāb al-Hujja*. He considered that these principles were indispensable for a Mu'tazilite identity, and determined the structure of their theological works.¹⁷ Later on, Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī (d. 319/913), and Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Jubbā'ī (d. 303/915) formulated coherent theological frameworks. 'Abd al-Salām Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī (d. 321/933) son of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī further systematized and refined the theological doctrines. The last person, who developed independent theological views, was Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī; however, all the refinements centered within the context of the five principles of the Mu'tazilites.¹⁸

The fourth chapter is a detailed analysis of the first fundamental principle: “the unity of God” (*al-tawḥīd*), which is the most important thesis of their doctrine and the source of the other principles. According to them, God is one and unique and He has no likeness and comparison with anyone. God is beyond time and place; He is not a body at all but only “something”, a being that cannot be perceived by the senses but is exclusively known through revelation or through reason. God is mentioned in the Qur'ān as: “There is no other like

17 Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawhar*, (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1965), 3:221–23; Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Malaṭī, *al-Tanbīh wa-al-radd 'alā ahl al-ahwā wa-al-bid'*, ed. Muḥammad Zāhid b. al-Ḥasan al-Kawtharī (Beirut: Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, 1968), 38–39; Maymūn b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī, *Baḥr al-kalām*, ed. Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāleḥ al-Farfūr (Damascus: Maktaba Dār al-Farfūr, 2000), 227–28.

18 D. Gimaret, “Mu'tazila,” *EI*², 7:783–93.

Him” (*laysa ka-mithlihi shay*’),¹⁹ and “There is no one comparable to Him” (*walam yakun lahu kufuwan aḥad*).²⁰

The Muʿtazilites deny God’s description anthropomorphically in any form, such as direction, place, image, body, face, hand, eye, domain, movement, extinction, change, or feeling.²¹ They consider the anthropomorphic verses in the Qurʾān as allegorical or figurative expressions to symbolize God’s attributes and actions. They deal with such verses by the method of *taʾwīl* or metaphorical interpretation. This chapter also discusses the issues of createdness of the Qurʾān (*khalq al-Qurʾān*) and the vision of God (*ruʾyat Allāh*).

The fifth chapter offers a comprehensive study of the second principle: “God’s justice” (*al-ʿadl*). The concepts of “grace” (*lutf*), the “best” (*aṣḥaḥ*), “guidance and going astray” (*hidāya wa iḍlāl*), “sealing of the hearts” (*khatm al-qulūb*) and God does not will any evil but good (*anna Allāh lā yurīd sharr bal yurīd al-khayr*) are elaborated.

The sixth chapter describes the third principle: “the promise and the threat” (*al-waʿd wa al-waʿīd*). The concept of “constraint” (*iljāʾ*) which is intended to solve the issue of the discrepancy between what God wills people to do and what they actually do; and the concept of “the nullification and the atonement” (*al-iḥbāṭ wa al-takfīr*) which is related to obedience (*tāʿa*) and disobedience (*maʿ-ṣiya*) are discussed in detail. In addition, the viewpoints of the Muʿtazilites and al-Zamakhsharī with regard to “repentance” (*tawba*), “forgiveness” (*ghufrān*), and “intercession” (*shafaʿa*) are illustrated.

The seventh chapter illustrates the fourth principle: “the position between the two positions” (*al-manzila bayna al-manzilatayn*), literally meaning or commonly referred to as “the intermediate position between belief and unbelief.” The definition of “belief” (*īmān*), classification of sins into major (*kabāʾir*) and minor (*ṣaghāʾir*) are elaborated.

The eighth chapter deals with the fifth principle: “enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong” (*al-amr bi al-maʾrūf wa al-nahy ʿan al-munkar*). The three main features of this principle: consistency in the Muʿtazilites’s views, homogeneity of the principle over space and time, and activism in varying

19 Qurʾān, 42:11.

20 Qurʾān, 112:4.

21 Sabine Schmidke, *A Muʿtazilite Creed of az-Zamahsharī (d. 538/1144) [al-Minhāḡ fī usūl al-dīn]* ed. and trans. (Stuttgart: Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 51/4, Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft – F. Steiner, 1997), 16–18.

degrees,²² as well as the two viewpoints for its implementation are elaborated in greater detail.

Finally, I have analyzed al-Zamakhsharī's interpretations in order to see whether and in what manner he defended some or all of the five principles of the Mu'tazilite theology. I selected those verses where anthropomorphisms need clarification as well as verses that are known to be points of contention between the Mu'tazilites and Sunnī orthodoxy.

²² Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 224–26.

Part I: **Al-Zamakhsharī**’ Life and Works

Chapter 1 Al-Zamakhsharī's Biography

1 Al-Zamakhsharī's Early Life

Biographical dictionaries provide very little information about al-Zamakhsharī's life. Jane Dammen McAuliffe describes that, "The biographical material on al-Zamakhsharī strikes very few personal notes."¹ In this book, the information derived from more than twenty-five biographical sources, spans a period of eight centuries from Ibn al-Anbārī's (d. 577/1181) *Nuzhat al-alibbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-udabā'* to Khayr al-Dīn Ziriklī's (d. 1395/1976) *al-A'lām. Qāmūs tarājīm li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-al-nisā' min al-'Arab wa-al-musta'ribīn wa-al-mustashriqīn*.

Al-Zamakhsharī's full name is Maḥmūd b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar, his *kunya* (patronymic) is Abū al-Qāsim and his *alqāb* (honorific titles) are *Jār Allāh* (neighbor of God), and *Fakhr Khawārm* (Glory of Khawārm). The *nisba* al-Zamakhsharī is derived from the place Zamakhshar in Khwārazm, where he was born on Rajab 27, 467/March 18, 1075.²

Al-Muqaddasī (d. 380/990) describes that, "Zamakhshar is a small city having a fortress, a ditch, a prison, and gates braced with iron, and bridges are raised every night, and a main street that crosses through the city. The mosque is very elegant which is at the end of the market."³ Al-Sam'ānī (d. 562/1167) mentions that, "Zamakhshar is one of the big villages of Khwārazm which is equivalent to a small city."⁴ Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) quotes al-Zamakhsharī that he said,

1 Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *Qur'ānic Christians: An Analysis of Classical and Modern Exegesis* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 991), 51.

2 Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. Yusūf al-Qiftī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt 'ala anbā' al-nuḥāt*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmiyya, 2005), 3:268; Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt fī ṭabaqāt al-lughawiyyīn wa-al-nuḥāt*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Maṭba'at 'Isā al-Bāb al-Ḥalabī, 1965), 2:279; 'Izz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tā'rikh* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1965), 11:97; Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā b. Khalīl Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda wa-misbāḥ al-siyāda fī mawḍu'at al-'ulum*, ed. Kāmil Kāmil Bakrī and 'Abd al-Waḥhāb Abū al-Nūr (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadītha, 1968), 2:98.

3 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Bannā' al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqlīm* (Beirut: Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1987), 230.

4 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1998), 3:181–82; 'Izz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansāb* (Baghdād: Maktabat al-Muthannā, 1970), 2:74; Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū Bakr Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1968), 5:168; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥayyī al-Laknawī, *al-Fawā'id al-bahiyya fī tarājīm al-Ḥanafīyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām al-Nu'mānī (Banāras: Maktabat Nadwat

“As far as my place of birth is concerned, it is one of the unknown villages of Khwārazm.”⁵

Al-Zamakhsharī died on Dhū al-Ḥijja 8, 538/June 12, 1144 in Jurjāniyya, where he was buried. Jurjāniyya, also known as Gurganj, capital of Khurāsān is located on the bank of the Jayhūn River. It was ranked after Kath as the second principal city, and had four gates and a large palace near the Bāb al-Ḥajjāj, on the edge of a huge market place and consisted of an outer and an inner city.⁶

Although of Persian origin, al-Zamakhsharī's command over Arabic was superb, and unparalleled. He was always motivated in his scholarship to serve and promote the Arabic language. He always taught his students in Arabic, and used Persian only for those who were beginners in their studies.⁷ Arabic was, in his view, the most perfect language which God had preferred to all languages as He preferred the Qur'ān and Islam over all scripture and religions.⁸ He was a strong opponent of the *shu'ūbiyya*, who held the view that Persians were superior to the Arabs.⁹

Al-Zamakhsharī was lame (*a'raj*) because one of his feet had been amputated. There are five different versions, which describe how this may have happened. According to the first version, when he was a small child, he fell from a roof (*saṭḥ*) and broke his foot. It became bent and was amputated.¹⁰ The second version states that while he was traveling through Khwārazm, “he got frost-bite in an extreme cold weather” (*aṣābahu thalj kathīr wa-bard shadīd*) and his foot “fell off” (*saqaṭa*).¹¹ The third version mentions that his foot was stung by an

al-Ma'ārif, 1967), 167–68; Muḥammad Bāqir b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamā wa-al-sādāt*, ed. Asad Allāh (Tehrān: Maktabat Ismāʿīliyyān, 1970), 8:119.

5 Abū ʿAbd Allāh Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd Allāh Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ irshād al-arīb ilā maʾrifat al-adīb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1993), 3:147.

6 Abū ʿAbd Allāh Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd Allāh Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1957), 2:122; B. Spuler, “Gurgandj,” *EI*², 2:1141.

7 Darwish al-Jundī, *al-Naẓm al-Qurʾān fī Kashshāf al-Zamakhsharī* (Cairo: Dār Nahḍa Miṣr lil-Ṭabʾ wa al-Nashr, 1969), 3.

8 Madelung, “al-Zamakhsharī,” *EI*² Supplement, 12:840–41.

9 Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 2:362.

10 ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad al-Andarāsānī, “Fī Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī Jār Allāh,” ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Yāfī, *Majallat Majmaʾ al-lughā al-ʿArabiyya bi-Dimishq*, 57/3 (1402/1982), 368.

11 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 5:169; Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIqd al-thamīn fī tāʾrīkh al-balad al-amīn* ed. Fuʾād Sayyid (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, 1967), 7:140–41; ʿAbd al-Ḥayyī b. Aḥmad Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab* (Beirut: Maktab al-Tijārī lil-Ṭabaʾ wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʾ, 1966), 4:119; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tāʾrīkh al-Islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-aʿlām*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmūrī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1991–2000), 36:489.

insect and later it had to be cut off due to an abscess developing on the foot.¹² The fourth version describes that on his way to Bukhārā; he fell from his horse and broke his foot. Afterwards, it became so painful that he had the foot removed.¹³ Finally, when al-Zamakhsharī was visiting Baghdād, Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Dāmaghānī (d. 540/1145), the Ḥanafīte jurist asked him about his foot. He replied that that the cause of his foot amputation was his mother's prayer. He narrated that when he was a small child he caught a sparrow and tied its foot with a piece of thread. The sparrow managed to escape and took refuge in a wall's hole. He tried to pull the bird out of the hole but its foot severed by the thread. His mother saw the incident and said, "May God sever your foot as you severed its foot." Al-Zamakhsharī concluded that, "My mother's benediction got me this." Al-Zamakhsharī got his amputated foot replaced by a wooden one, which he used to hide by wearing a long cloak, so that people would not consider him lame.¹⁴ He always carried with him an official certificate (*maḥḍar*) signed by many witnesses who knew the circumstances and facts of his foot, to avoid suspicion or doubt of the people.¹⁵ The reason that he had to carry an official certificate was that it might be suspected that his foot was amputated as punishment for some crime.

2 Al-Zamakhsharī's Education

Al-Andarabānī and Ṭashkubrīzāda mention that al-Zamakhsharī's father was a scholar (*imām*) in the village of Zamakhshar and he taught him the Qur'ān. His father wanted him to learn tailoring since he was handicapped. However, al-Zamakhsharī requested that he send him to Jurjāniyya for more education, to which he agreed. He studied and acquired knowledge from a number of scholars (*asātidha*, *shuyūkh*, *masahā'ikh*). In Jurjāniyya, the brother of Abū al-Faṭḥ b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥārith al-Bayyā'ī saw his good handwriting and employed him as his secretary.¹⁶ Al-Zamakhsharī travelled to Bukhārā when he reached the age to acquire further knowledge, he continued studies outside of his village.¹⁷

12 Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:280.

13 Al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, 3:268.

14 Ṭashkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 2:99; al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, 3:268; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, 5:169–70; al-Fāsī, *Iqd al-thamīn*, 7:140–1; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 4:119.

15 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, 6:2688; al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, 3: 268; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, 5:169; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 4:119.

16 According to George Makdisi, "For the madrasa in eleventh-century Baghdād exercised an undeniably strong attraction, especially on those who had not the means for the leisure of

3 Al-Zamakhsharī's Teachers

All the biographical dictionaries and *ṭabaqāt* works mention that al-Zamakhsharī acquired his education from a number of scholars. However, most of the information available about these scholars is scanty. There are approximately eleven names which have been mentioned in the sources who were his teachers. Sometimes, information is available about the area of studies in which they were specialized, while in other cases it is not mentioned at all.

According to al-Andarabānī, al-Zamakhsharī, when he was already a famous authority on the Qur'ān exegesis, became associated with two prominent theologians of Khwārazm – Abū Manṣūr¹⁸ and Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. al-Malāḥimī al-Uṣūlī (d. 536/1141), who was known as *farīd al-ʿaṣr* (unique in his time) in the field of theology. Al-Zamakhsharī studied theology with him. Besides being al-Zamakhsharī's teacher, Ibn al-Malāḥimī was also his student and studied with him exegesis.¹⁹ The evidence of al-Zamakhsharī's close relationship with Ibn al-Malāḥimī is supported by the elegiac verses composed by him on the occasion of the latter's death.²⁰

Al-Zamakhsharī wrote a brief summary of his theological opinions entitled *Kitāb al-Minhāj fī uṣūl al-dīn*. In his Mu'tazilite creed, he was largely influenced by the doctrine of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, which is supported by the text. Throughout the book, he usually refrains from expressing his own preference

study. To devote oneself to study meant to sacrifice the opportunity of monetary gain from plying a trade or profession. Prior to the big *madrasas*, both needy professors and needy students had to gain their livelihood outside the field of education. The professor had to hire himself out as copyist for wages. Those with a handsome handwriting gained large sums of money as copyists. This profession was not by any means left to the very greatest calligraphers, such as the Ibn Muqlas and the Ibn al-Bauwābs; others, whose primary interest was elsewhere, but who had a certain talent for calligraphy, could at times gain enough to become rich. But the great majority could only eke out a living with this time-consuming job which, however, had the advantage of keeping them close to their primary interest in helping them to learn their texts," George Makdisi, "Muslim Institutions of Learning in Eleventh-Century Baghdād," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 24 (1961), 52.

17 Al-Andarabānī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 368; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, 5:170; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 2:100.

18 Al-Andarabānī mentions his name Imām Abū Manṣūr and "the Shaykh Abū Manṣūr master of theology and preacher of the people of the Khwārazm" (*al-Shaykh Abū Manṣūr ṣāhib al-uṣūl wa wā'iz ahl al-Khwārazm*). It seems that he is most likely the Shaykh al-Islām Abū Manṣūr Naṣr al-Ḥārithī, one of al-Zamakhsharī's teachers mentioned by his nephew. See al-Andarabānī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 368, 379; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, 6:2688.

19 Al-Andarabānī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 368, 379, 382; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda* 2:100.

20 Al-Andarabānī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 382.

with regard to the conflicting views of various schools on a question without ever entering the controversies. However, at some places when he indicates his opinion, it seems that he is in agreement with the views of Ibn al-Malāḥimī. The theologians most of the time mentioned by names are Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī and Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī – “the two *shaykhs*” (*al-shaykhān*), and Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār is referred to only once. Madelung states that,

Al-Zamakhsharī's attitude to the Mu'tazila and their schools thus seems well consistent with what is known of his career. He had most likely been a Mu'tazilī from his youth. Then he was attracted by the teaching of al-Hākim al-Jishumī, representative of the Bahash-miyya, perhaps in particular because of al-Hākim's authority in Qur'ān exegesis. He probably visited Jishum, though apparently after al-Hākim's death, and received his works from a student of his. Later he became closely associated with Ibn al-Malāḥimī, the Kawāzāmian renewer of the doctrine of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. He was clearly impressed and influenced by his teaching. Yet he did not identify himself with it. In his theological compendium he rather lent support to a broadly based, catholic Mu'tazilism.²¹

Al-Zamakhsharī studied *ḥadīth* with Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Baṭir al-Baghdādī (d. 494/1101), Abū Manṣūr Naṣr al-Hārithī, known as the *Shaykh al-Islām*,²² and Abū Sa'd al-Shaqqānī or al-Shiqqānī who was a scholar. Biographical dictionaries do not provide much information about him.²³ Ibn al-Baṭir was a famous *muḥaddith*, and transmitted *aḥādīth* from Abū Muḥammad b. al-Bay', 'Umar b. Aḥmad al-'Ubkarī, Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān, Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Rizqwiyya, and Abū Bakr al-Munaqqī. Al-Zamakhsharī studied *ḥadīth* with him in Baghdād and transmitted from him.²⁴

21 Madelung, *Theology of al-Zamakhsharī*, 492–93.

22 Ibn Khallikān states that al-Zamakhsharī studied literature with al-Hārithī, while other sources mention that he studied *ḥadīth* with him. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, 6:2688; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, 4:254; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:279; Hāfiẓ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar (Cairo: Maktaba Wahba, 1994), 2:315; Tāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 2:98; al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, 8:119.

23 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, 6:2688; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:79; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, 2:315; Tāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 2:98; al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, 8:119.

24 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 4:192; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *al-'Ibar fī khabar man 'abar* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munjid (Kuwait: Maṭba'at Ḥukūmat al-Kuwait, 1960–66), 4:106; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar al-a'lām al-nubalā*, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūt and Ibrāhīm al-Zaybaq (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1981–96), 19:46–48, 20:152; 'Imād al-Dīn Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'il b. 'Umar Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* (Beirut: Maktabat al-Ma'ārīf, 1966), 12:161; al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn* 7:138; Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, ed. A. Meursinge (Leiden and Tehran: Arabic and Persian Text Series, 1839 and 1960), 41; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, 2:315; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadhrāt al-dhahab*, 4:118.

Al-Andarāsbanī mentions that al-Zamakhsharī and one of his students Abū al-Mu'ayyad al-Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad al-Makkī revived the *ḥadīths* in Khwārazm. He states that,

He [al-Zamakhsharī] was the first to revive the science of Tradition (*ilm al-ḥadīth*) in Khwārazm and to make it flourish there. He brought the books of the Traditions from Iraq and “urged the people” (*hathth al-nās*) to study it. This science was spread out by him and after him by Akḥṭab al-khuṭabā' (Abū al-Mu'ayyad al-Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad al-Makkī).²⁵

Al-Zamakhsharī wrote four works on *ḥadīth*: *al-Fā'iḳ fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, *Mukhtaṣar al-Muwāfaqāt bayna ahl al-bayt wa al-ṣaḥāba*, *Mutashābih asmā' al-ruwāt* and *Khaṣā'iṣ al-'ashara al-kirām al-barara*.

Abū Muḍar Maḥmūd b. Jarīr al-Ḍabbī al-Isfahānī (d. 507/1114) was actively responsible for introducing and spreading of Mu'tazilism throughout Khwārazm.²⁶ He was known as *farīd al-'aṣr* (unique in his time) and *waḥīd al-dahr* (incomparable in his era), a great scholar in the fields of lexicography, grammar, and medicine and an exemplary character in his virtues and moral excellence. He lived in Khwārazm for a long time and many people obtained and benefited from his knowledge and high moral standards. Al-Zamakhsharī was among those who not only studied literature, grammar, and lexicography with him, but also followed his school of thought.²⁷ Al-Zamakhsharī wrote fourteen titles on literature.

Al-Zamakhsharī studied grammar with 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭalḥa al-Yāburī (d. 518/1124) who was born in Yābur and stayed for sometime in Seville (*Ishbiliya*). He was a grammarian, theologian (*uṣūlī*), and jurist (*faqīh*). His important works

25 Abū al-Mu'ayyad al-Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad al-Makkī was al-Zamakhsharī's favorite student and in the year 550/1155 he wrote a commentary on al-Zamakhsharī's *Unmūdḥaj* entitled *Kifāyat al-naḥw*. See al-Andarāsbanī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 379; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur Supplement*, (Leiden: Brill, 1936–1942), 1:285, 513, 549, 623; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, (Leiden: Brill, 1937–1942), 1:350.

26 Ibrahim, *Theological Questions*, 4; Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Ḥūfī, *Al-Zamakhsharī* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1966), 48; Murtaḍa Āyat Allāh Zāda al-Shirāzī, *al-Zamakhsharī lughwīyyan wa-mufasssiran* (Cairo: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1977), 96.

27 Al-Andarāsbanī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 368; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, 6:2687; al-Qiftī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, 3:267; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, 5:168, 172; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 36:489; Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar b. al-Muẓaffar Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh ibn al-Wardī* (Najaf: Maṭba'a al-Ḥaydariyya, 1969), 2:63; Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Muḥāsīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībardi, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*. (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wa al-Wathā'iḳ al-Qawmiyya, 2005), 5:274; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 2:276; al-Dāwūdī, *Tabaqāt al-mufasssirin* 2:315; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 2:100; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadhrāt al-dhahab*, 4:119; al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt* 8:119.

are *al-Mudkhal sharḥ Risāla ibn abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī*, *Sayf al-Islām ‘alā madh-hab Mālik*, and *al-Radd ‘alā ibn Ḥazm*. Al-Fāsī states that al-Zamakhsharī traveled from Khawārazm to Mecca to study grammar with him. However, according to al-Suyūṭī, while in Mecca, al-Zamakhsharī studied *Kitāb Sibawayhi* with ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṭalḥa al-Yāburī.²⁸ He also studied grammar with Abū Muḍar al-Ḍabbī.

Al-Zamakhsharī studied lexicography with Abū Manṣūr Mawhūb b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Khiḍr al-Jawālīqī (d. 539/1144) and Abū Muḍar al-Ḍabbī. Abū Manṣūr b. al-Jawālīqī was a great scholar in a variety of sciences, and an associate of al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī. He taught philology at the Nizāmiyya after al-Tibrīzī. He learned *ḥadīth* from Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Baṣrī and Abū Ṭāhir b. Abū al-Saqr, and al-Kindī and Ibn Jawzī transmitted from him. He was trustworthy, pious, virtuous, and profoundly intelligent. He was prudent in his answers to questions and admired for his beautiful calligraphy. He had enormous knowledge in lexicography and grammar. Al-‘Imād al-Khaṭīb narrated that, “At that time, there were four grammarians in Baghdād: al-Jawālīqī, Ibn al-Shajarī, Ibn al-Khashshāb, and Ibn al-Dahhān.”²⁹ Al-Zamakhsharī studied lexicography with him. Al-Qiftī (d. 646/1248) mentions that Abū al-Yumn Zayd b. Ḥasan al-Kindī (d. 613/1217), one of Jawālīqī’s students, reported that al-Zamakhsharī “came to us in Baghdād in 533/1138, and I saw him with Jawālīqī twice – first time, studying books on lexicography, and second time, seeking *ijāza* (license) for them, because prior to that, he had neither visited him nor transmitted from him.”³⁰

In the fields of grammar and lexicography he penned eight and five works respectively. However, no one is mentioned specifically as al-Zamakhsharī’s teacher in exegesis.

Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Muẓaffar al-Naysābūrī (d. 442/1051) was a man of letters, poet, writer, and teacher of the people of Khawārazm in his time. Yāqūt, al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), al-Dāwūdī (d. 945/1538), Ṭāshkubrīzāda (d. 968/1561) and al-Khavānsārī (d. 1313/1895) mention that al-Zamakhsharī studied literature (*adab*) with him. Yāqūt even states that he was al-Zamakhsharī’s teacher before Abū Muḍar.

It seems that there is confusion in the name of Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Muẓaffar al-Naysābūrī and it cannot be established conclusively that he taught al-

28 Al-Fāsī, *al’Iqd al-thamīn*, 7:138; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:46; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghusn al-raṭīb*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 1968), 2:648–49; al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, 8:126; ‘Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Mu’jam al-mu’allifīn: Tarājīm musannifīn al-kutub al-‘Arabiyya* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1983), 6:65.

29 Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 1:587, 2:29–31, 324, 308.

30 Al-Qiftī, *Inbāḥ al-ruwāt*, 3:270; al-Dhahābī, *Siyar* 20:153; al-Sam‘ānī, *al-Ansāb*, 2:135–36; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa’āda*, 2:98; H. Fleisch, “al-Djawālīqī,” *El*², 2:490.

Zamakhsharī. Abū al-Ḥasan died in 442/1051, about a quarter of a century prior to al-Zamakhsharī's birth. So he could not have been his teacher. There is a likelihood that al-Zamakhsharī might have studied with one of the descendants of Abū al-Ḥasan by the same name. The teacher of al-Zamakhsharī might be his son or grandson by the same name.³¹

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Khwārazmī was a student of the Zaydī exegete al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī (d. 494/1101). Madelung mentions Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Khawārazmī as one of al-Zamakhsharī's teachers, though none of the biographical dictionaries lists his name. According to Madelung, al-Zamakhsharī might have visited Bayhaq, al-Jishumī's hometown after the latter's death. He might have met Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Khawarazmī there and studied with him. It is through him that he could have become familiar with al-Jishumī's Qur'ānic exegesis and the Mu'tazilite doctrine of Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār. Some scholars are of the opinion that al-Zamakhsharī used al-Jishumī's *al-Tahdhīb fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* when composing his *al-Kashshāf*. However, Madelung does not agree with it.³²

Madelung's information is based upon a narrative mentioned in al-Jishumī's *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-masā'il fī 'ilm al-uṣūl*. Al-Jishumī had many students but three of them mentioned by name were: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Khawarazmī, whose name, father's name and grandfather's name were the same; 'Alī b. Zayd b. al-Barūqanī; and al-Jishumī's son Muḥammad who transmitted from his father, heard (*sama'*) from him in 452/1061. It is mentioned that al-Qāḍī al-Ḥāfiẓ was al-Zamakhsharī's teacher. However, it is not clear who al-Qāḍī al-Ḥāfiẓ was. The information provided in the *Sharḥ 'Uyūn* is not corroborated by any other source because none of the biographical dictionaries mentions his name as al-Zamakhsharī's teacher.³³ So far as the name of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Khwārazmī is concerned, it is confirmed that he was student of al-Jishumī however, it does not prove that he was a teacher of al-Zamakhsharī.

Abū Manṣūr was a theologian and preacher in Khwārazm. Al-Zamakhsharī studied theology with him and he studied Qur'ānic exegesis with al-Zamakhsharī. There is confusion of names between Abū Manṣūr Naṣr al-Ḥārithī, Abū

31 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, 3:1016–18, 6:2688; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 1:526, 2:279; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, 2:315; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 2:98; al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, 8:119.

32 Madelung, "al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī," *EI² Supplement*, 12:343; Madelung, "al-Zamakhsharī," *EI² Supplement*, 12:840–41.

33 Qāḍī 'Imād al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī al-Asadabādī, *Faḍl al-I'tizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-Mu'tazila*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid (Tunis: al-Dār al-Tunisiyya li-al-Nashr, 1986), 353–54.

Manṣūr al-Jawālīqī, and Abū Manṣūr. According to Yāqūt, al-Zamakhsharī studied *Hadīth* from Abū Manṣūr Naṣr al-Ḥārithī, while Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) states that he studied literature from him. Tashkubrizāda mentions the name of Abū Manṣūr al-Jawālīqī al-Ḥārithī.³⁴

Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā b. Ḥamza b. Wahhās (d. 526/1131) was the Zaydī Imām of Mecca. According to al-Qiftī and Ibn Taghribardī, al-Zamakhsharī studied with Ibn Wahhās, but do not mention what he studied with him. Both al-Qiftī and Ibn Taghribardī, as well al-Fāsī state, that it was Ibn Wahhās who encouraged al-Zamakhsharī to write Mu‘tazilite *tafsīr* of the Qur’ān, to which he agreed.³⁵

4 Al-Zamakhsharī's Students

According to al-Qiftī, al-Dhahabī, and al-Dāwūdī, “In any city or town where he entered, people joined him to become his students” (*mā dakhala balad illā wa-ajutama’ū ‘alayhi wa-talamadhū lahu*).³⁶ Al-Anbārī, Yāqūt, al-Dhahabī and al-Fāsī mention that, “When he passed through ‘Irāq on his way to pilgrimage to Mecca, Abū al-Sa‘ādāt Hibat Allāh b. al-Shajarī was delighted on his arrival and benefited (from his knowledge).”³⁷ Ibn Khallikān, al-Fāsī and Ibn al-‘Imād (d. 1089/1679) describe the meeting between al-Zamakhsharī and the Ḥanafī jurist al-Dāmaghānī in one of his visits to Baghdād.³⁸ This means that he had not only contacts with a good number of scholars but had many students who studied and obtained knowledge from him.

The biographical dictionaries identify a total number of twenty-six names who were al-Zamakhsharī's students. In most of the cases they mention what students studied with or transmitted from al-Zamakhsharī. However in some cases it is mentioned generally and one does not know their field of study.

³⁴ Al-Andarabānī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 368, 379; Ṭāshkubrizāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa‘āda*, 2:100.

³⁵ Al-Qiftī, *Inbāḥ al-ruwāt*, 3:268; al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-thamīn*, 6:218, 220; Ibn Taghribardī, *Nujūm al-zāhira*, 5:274.

³⁶ Al-Qiftī, *Inbāḥ al-ruwāt*, 3:266; al-Dhahabī, *Tā’rīkh al-Islām*, 36:488; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 20:155; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, 2:315.

³⁷ Abū al-Barakāt ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-udabā’*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār Nahḍa Miṣr lil-Ṭaba’ wa al-Nashr, 1967), 392; Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-udabā’*, 6:6288; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 20:153; al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-thamīn*, 7:138.

³⁸ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān*, 5:169; al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-thamīn*, 7:140; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 4:119.

Al-Zamakhsharī granted to some students “license” (*ijāza*) to transmit what they had learned and written. He also granted to others “general license” (*ijāza ‘amma*). Many students and contemporary scholars attended his *majālis* and benefitted from each other’s knowledge.

Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Hārūn al-‘Imrānī al-Khwārazmī (d. ca. 560/1165) was known as *ḥujjat al-afāḍil* (Proof of the Excellence) and *fakhr al-mashā’ikh* (Pride of the Scholars). He came from Khwārazm, and was a learned scholar in grammar. He was Mu’tazilite and wrote a commentary on the Qur’ān. Al-Khavānsārī specifically mentions that he studied traditions with al-Zamakhsharī. Other sources state that he studied literature with al-Zamakhsharī.³⁹

Muḥammad b. ‘Abī al-Qāsim b. Yabjūk al-Baqqālī (d. 562/1167) was known as *zayn al-mashā’ikh* (Adornment of the Learned), *ḥujja fī lisān al-‘Arab* (Authority on the Arabic Language), and leading authority in literature. His works include *Miftāḥ al-tanzīl*, *al-i’jāb fī al-i’rāb*, *Taqwīm al-lisān fī al-naḥw*, *al-Bidāya’ fī al-ma‘ānī wa-al-bayān*, *Manāzil al-‘Arab*, and *Sharḥ asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusnā*. He studied lexicography, grammar and traditions with al-Zamakhsharī. He took al-Zamakhsharī’s position after his death.⁴⁰

Abū Bakr al-Azdī Yaḥyā b. Sa’dūn al-Qurṭubī (d. 567/1171–2) was a scholar in the city of Moṣul and travelled widely in Cordova, Egypt and Baghdād to study. He was a student of al-Zamakhsharī and excelled in Arabic and the variant readings of the Qur’ān.⁴¹

Abū al-Mu’ayyad al-Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad al-Makkī (d. 568/1172) known as *akḥṭab al-khuṭabā’* (one of the best orators) and *akḥṭab al-Khwārazm* (the best orator of Khwārazm) was a famous and great scholar in the fields of jurisprudence, literature, traditions, oratory, and poetry. Al-Andarabānī states that he studied grammar and literature with al-Zamakhsharī, while al-Khavānsārī and al-Suyūṭī mention that he studied jurisprudence, literature, traditions, preaching, and poetry with him.⁴²

39 Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:195; al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, 8:123.

40 Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-udabā’*, 6:2618; Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī al-Wafā, *al-Jawāhir al-muḍīyya fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyya*, ed. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilw. (Jīza: Hajr li al-Ṭabā’a wa al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī’ wa-al-I’lān, 1993), 4:392–3; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyā*, 1:215; al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, 8:124.

41 ‘Afīf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. As’ad al-Yamanī al-Yāfī, *Mir’āt al-janān wa-‘ibrat al-yaqẓān fī ma’rifat mā yu’tabar min ḥawādith al-zamān*. (Hyderabad Deccan: Dā’irat al-Ma’ārif al-Nizāmiyya, 1919–21), 3:383.

42 Al-Andarabānī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 370–1; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:308; al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, 8:123–24.

Abū 'Amr 'Āmir b. al-Ḥasan al-Simsār was al-Zamakhsharī's nephew. Al-Sam'ānī mentions that he transmitted (*rawā*) from al-Zamakhsharī in his home village of Zamakhshar. However, he does not state specifically what he transmitted.⁴³

Abū al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī (d. 576/1180) moved to Baghdād in 511/1117 and stayed there except for when he traveled to Cairo for a period of two years. In 546/1151 the Fātimid vizier al-Zafīr al-Malik al-Adī 'Abd Allāh b. Ishāq b. al-Sallār had a *madrāsā* established for him, where he taught until his death. According to Ibn Khallikān, al-Silafī wrote to al-Zamakhsharī from Alexandria on two occasions, requesting him the license (*ijāza*) to transmit "what he had heard and what he had written," which he granted to him. Some of the sources have preserved part of this correspondence; however, al-Maqqarī provides full account of the correspondence between al-Silafī and al-Zamakhsharī in his *Azhār al-riyād fī akhbār 'Īyād*.⁴⁴

Ibn al-Anbārī, author of the *Nuzhat al-alibbā' fī tabaqāt al-udabā'* was one of al-Zamakhsharī's students. However, al-Suyutī does not mention al-Zamakhsharī as Ibn al-Anbārī's teacher.⁴⁵

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Jalīl al-'Umarī Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwaṭ (d. 578/1182) was a famous descendent of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He participated in al-Zamakhsharī's *majlis*, which is corroborated by his two letters he wrote. He was one of the outstanding students of al-Zamakhsharī.⁴⁶

Abū Ṭāhir Barakāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Khushū'ī (d. 598/1201) came from a family of scholars who taught *ḥadīth* at the Bayt al-Ḥadīth. Ibn Khallikān mentions that he had outstanding certificates of audition (*sam'at*) and was unique and pos-

43 Al-Qiftī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, 3:266; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, 6:2688; al-Andarāsbanī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 381.

44 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, 6:2690; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, 5:170; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 36:488; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 20:154; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* (Hyderabad Deccan: Dā'ira al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyya, 1958), 4:1298–1304; al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn*, 7:139; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:280; al-Suyūṭī, *Tabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, 41; al-Dāwūdī, *Tabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, 2:315; al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, 3:297; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 2:98; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, *Azhār al-riyād fī akhbār 'Īyād*. ed. Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad al-Saqqā', Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, 'Abd al-Ḥafīz Shalbī (Cairo: Maṭba' Lajna al-Tā'līf wa al-Tarjama wa al-Nashr, 1942), 3:282–88; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadhrāt al-dhahab*, 4:120; al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, 8:119.

45 Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:86–88; al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, 8:123.

46 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, 6:2631–36; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 1:226; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allīfīn*, 11:229.

sessed some of the licenses of transmission he held. Al-Zamakhsharī granted him the license (*ijāza*).⁴⁷

Abū al-Faṭḥ Nāṣir b. ‘Abd al-Sayyid Ibn Muṭarriz (d. 610/1213) known as al-Muṭarrizī was a poet. He was a Ḥanafite Mu‘tazilite and according to al-Dhahabī, he was one of the leading Mu‘tazilites. He studied with al-Zamakhsharī but sources do not mention the field of study. Al-Khavānsārī states that due to Muṭarriz’s close friendship with al-Zamakhsharī, he received the title of “Successor of al-Zamakhsharī” (*khilāfat al-Zamakhsharī*). However, Muṭarriz was born in 538/1144, the year of al-Zamakhsharī’s death. Under these circumstances, it is not possible that either he studied with al-Zamakhsharī or received the title of *khilāfa*.⁴⁸

Umm al-Mu‘ayyad Zaynab bint ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sha‘riyya (d. 615/1218) was an outstanding scholar and visited a number of eminent scholars and received the knowledge and license (*ijāza*) to transmit it to others. Ibn Khallikan specifically mentions that al-Zamakhsharī granted her a general license (*ijāza ‘āmma*) to transmit all of his works.⁴⁹

Al-Fāsī mentions that Abū al-Ma‘ālī Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī al-Shaybānī was a judge (*qāḍī*) in Mecca who transmitted the *Kashshāf* to his nephew Abū al-Ma‘ālī Mājid b. Sulaymān al-Fihri. He heard it from al-Zamakhsharī in Mecca. Subsequently, Mājid b. Sulaymān al-Fihri transmitted (*rawā ‘an*) the *Kashshāf*.⁵⁰

Sadīd b. Muḥammad al-Khayyāṭī, known as *Shaykh al-Islām* was a great scholar in jurisprudence and theology. He transmitted from (*rawā ‘an*) ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-‘Imrānī, *fakhr al-mashā’ikh* (Pride of the Learned) who was one of al-Zamakhsharī’s students. Al-Laknawī mentions that al-Khayyāṭī was an expert in jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and theology (*kalām*) and he studied under al-‘Imrānī al-Khwārazmī who was one of al-Zamakhsharī’s students. However, the source does not mention the field of study.⁵¹

Ya‘qūb b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far Abū Yusūf al-Balkhī al-Jandalī is mentioned by al-Suyūṭī and Yāqūt in their biographical dictionaries. Al-Suyūṭī says that al-Balkhī was one of the leading scholars in literature (*aḥad min al-*

47 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān*, 1:269–70; al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-thamīn*, 7:139.

48 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 22:28; al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, 8:124; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:195.

49 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān*, 2:344, 5:171; al-Dhahabī, *Tā’rīkh al-Islām*, 36:488; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 20:154, 22:85; al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-thamīn*, 7:139; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 41; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, 2:315.

50 Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-thamīn*, 7:112–13.

51 Taqī al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Tamīmī, *Ṭabaqāt al-saniyya fī tarāim al-Ḥanafīyya*, ed. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilw. (Cairo: Lajnat Iḥyā’ Turāth al-Islāmī, 1970), 4:7; al-Laknawī, *Fawā’id al-bahiyya*, 66.

a'imma fī al-adab) and studied with al-Zamakhsharī. Yāqūt reports that he was an expert in grammar and disciple of al-Zamakhsharī but does not mention what he studied with al-Zamakhsharī.⁵²

Al-Sam'ānī mentions in his *Kitāb al-Ansāb* that Abū al-Maḥāsin 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bazzāz transmitted from al-Zamakhsharī in Abīward.⁵³ He also states that Abū Ṭāhir Sāmān b. 'Abd al-Malik was a jurist (*faqīh*) and transmitted from al-Zamakhsharī in Khawārazm. However, the report does not mention what was transmitted.⁵⁴ According to al-Sam'ānī, Abū Sa'd Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Shāshī transmitted from al-Zamakhsharī in Samarqand. However, it is not known what was transmitted from him.⁵⁵

Abū al-Maḥāsin Ismā'il b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭawīl "transmitted from" (*rawā 'anhu*) al-Zamakhsharī in Ṭabristān and to al-Sam'ānī himself.⁵⁶ Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd was a *qāḍī* in Samarqand who transmitted poetry from al-Zamakhsharī. According to Ibn Khallikān, he also transmitted poetry from al-Zamakhsharī to al-Sam'ānī or his son, Abū al-Muẓaffar al-Dhahabī in Samarqand.⁵⁷

Al-Khavānsārī mentions that Ibn Shahrāshūb transmitted from al-Zamakhsharī, but does not state what specifically he transmitted.⁵⁸ According to al-Dhahabī, Ismā'il b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khawārmī transmitted poetry (*rawa 'anhu anāshīd*) from al-Zamakhsharī.⁵⁹

Al-Andarabānī states that 'Atīq b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Naysābūrī was one of al-Zamakhsharī's students. He participated in al-Zamakhsharī's *majlis* and studied the *Asās al-balāgha* with him.⁶⁰

According to al-Andarabānī, Abū al-Faraj al-Makkī, known as "Light of the Scholars" (*shams al-a'imma*) and "Leader of the Scholars" (*ra'īs al-a'imma*) was a student of al-Zamakhsharī. He studied exegesis with al-Zamakhsharī.⁶¹

52 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, 6:2844; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:351.

53 Al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, 3:181–82.

54 Al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, 3:181–82.

55 Al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, 3:181–82; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, 2:74; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 20:154; al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn*, 7:138.

56 Al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, 3:181–82; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, 2:74; al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn* 7:138.

57 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, 5:171–72; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 20:155.

58 Al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, 8:123.

59 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 20:154.

60 Al-Andarabānī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 377.

61 Al-Andarabānī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 379.

5 Al-Zamakhsharī's Scholarly Contribution

Al-Zamakhsharī's scholarly contribution covers a wide variety of fields: exegesis, traditions, jurisprudence, literature, grammar, and lexicography. All the biographical dictionaries mention his important books, which he wrote during his lifetime. There is a substantial difference regarding the number of the books reported by the primary as well as secondary sources. However, most of the sources agree that al-Zamakhsharī produced some fifty books, out of which about twenty titles are available in print form and probably the same number of manuscripts is preserved in various libraries of the world. It appears that the remaining works are not extant.

According to the primary sources, Yāqūt gives a list of forty-nine titles produced by al-Zamakhsharī, and Ibn Khallikān gives the number of thirty-one works. Al-Fāsī and Ibn al-'Imād both provide in their biographical notes twenty-nine titles. Al-Dāwūdī in his *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssirīn*, gives thirty-three works. Ibn Quṭlūbughā and Ṭāshkubrīzāda mention twenty-seven and twenty-six titles respectively. Al-Suyūṭī gives nine titles in *Ṭabaqāt*, and sixteen titles in *Bughya*. Yāf'ī provides thirty titles of al-Zamakhsharī, while al-Dhahabī mentions only eleven works.

According to the secondary sources, Rahman provides seventy-three titles of the books authored by al-Zamakhsharī, out of which seventeen are available in print form; eighteen are in manuscript form, which are preserved in various libraries of the world, while the remaining thirty-eight are lost. Sarkis and Kaḥḥāla mention twelve and six titles of the books respectively. Ziriklī gives the number of books twenty-one. Agius' bibliography provides a list of fifty-six books and gives brief descriptions of twenty-seven books, while for the remaining twenty-nine books he only mentions their sources of information. Brockelmann mentions twenty titles of al-Zamakhsharī. He provides the names of publishers, and their dates and places of publication, as well the listing of manuscripts. Wherever possible, he gives a summary of the titles. Madelung gives fifteen titles of the books. He provides brief descriptions of *al-Kashshāf*, *al-Minhāj fī usul al-dīn*, *Rabī' al-abrār wa-nusus al-akhbār*, *Maqāmāt*, also known as *al-Naṣā'ih al-kibar*, and *Aṭwāq al-dhahab* or *al-Naṣā'ih al-sighar*. Lane provides a list of forty-eight books with short descriptions under five categories: grammar, lexicography, belles-lettres (*adab*), religious sciences and unknown.⁶²

6 Al-Zamakhsharī's Travels and Visits to Mecca

As mentioned above, al-Zamakhsharī went for the first time to Jurjāniyya for more education. However, Ibn Khallikān mentions that he travelled to Bukhārā when he reached the age to acquire further knowledge and continue his studies outside of his hometown.

According to al-Fāsī, al-Zamakhsharī visited Baghdād sometime before 500/1106 where he met many scholars and heard *ḥadīths* from Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Naṣr b. al-Baṭir and others. Afterwards, he left for Mecca “and stayed there in the neighborhood of Mecca for a while helping (teaching) and benefitting, that is, acquiring knowledge” (*fa aqāma hunāka muddatan mujāwaran bi-makkati yufīdu wa yastafīdu*). He studied with ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṭalḥa al-Yāburī al-Andalusī, *Kitāb al-Sībawayh*, and this was his main reason. Then he returned to Khwārazm and stayed there for sometime.⁶³

He visited Baghdād again while he was going to Mecca for pilgrimage, where he met with Ibn al-Shajarī, and al-Jawālīqī.⁶⁴ According to al-Suyūṭī and Ṭāshkubrīzāda, al-Zamakhsharī visited Baghdād more than once.⁶⁵ Madelung states that al-Zamakhsharī performed pilgrimage for seven times, so it is possible that he may have visited ‘Irāq in any of these occasions.⁶⁶

Al-Zamakhsharī visited and stayed in Mecca at least twice for a period of approximately twelve years. Al-Andarabānī and Ṭāshkubrīzāda mention that al-

Zayn al-Dīn Qāsim al-Ḥanafī Ibn al-Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj al-tarājim fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyya*, ed. Gustav Flügel (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1966), 53; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa’āda*, 2:98–99; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, 41; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:280; al-Yāfī, *Mir’āt al-janān*, 3:269; al-Dhahabī, *Tā’rīkh al-Islām*, 36:487–89; Rahman, *Zamakhsharī kī tafsīr*, 157–77; Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkis, *Mu’jam al-maṭbū’āt al-‘Arabiyya wa-al-mu’arraba* (Cairo: Maṭba’at Sarkis, 1928–31), 1:973–6; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu’jam al-mu’allifīn*, 12:186; Khayr al-Dīn Ziriklī, *al-‘A’lām. Qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-al-nisā’ min al-‘arab wa-l-musta’ribīn wa-l-mustashriqīn*. (Beirut: Dār al-‘Ilm lil-Malāiyyīn, 2007), 7:178; Mawlvī Faqīr Muhammad Jehlami, *Ḥadā’iq al-Ḥanafīyya*, ed. Khurshid Ahmad Khan. (Lahore: Maktaba Hasan Suhayl, n.d.), 246; D. A. Agius, “Some Bio-Bibliographical Notes on Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī,” *al-‘Arabiyya* 15 (1982), 108–30; C. Brockelmann, “al-Zamakhsharī,” *EI*¹, 8:1205–7; Madelung, “al-Zamakhsharī,” *EI*² Supplement, 12:840–41; Lane, *Traditional Mu’tazilite Qur’ān Commentary*, 267–98. A list of al-Zamakhsharī’s works is provided in the Appendix.

⁶³ Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-thamīn*, 7:138. According to some other sources, his first visit to Mecca might have taken place between 500/1106 and 518/1124. See al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, 2: 315; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa’āda*, 2:98; and al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:280.

⁶⁴ Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā’*, 290–91; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 20:153; al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-thamīn*, 7:138.

⁶⁵ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:351; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa’āda*, 2:98.

⁶⁶ Madelung, “al-Zamakhsharī,” *EI*² Supplement, 12:840–41.

Zamakhsharī stayed for five years in “the sacred city” (*al-balad al-ḥaram*).⁶⁷ Al-Zamakhsharī mentions about his stay in Mecca in the following verses:

*fa-jāwartu rabbī wa-huwa khayru mujāwar
ladā baytihi al-bayti al-muḥarram ‘ākifā
aqamtu bi-idhni Allāh khamṣan kawāmilan
wa-ṣādaftu sab‘an bi-al-mu‘arraḥ wāqifā
ḡalaltu ma‘ al-‘ummār mu‘tamirā lahu
wa-bittu ma‘ al-ṭuwwāfi bi-al-bayti ṭā‘ifa
wa-tamma lī al-Kashshāf thamma bi-baldatin
bihā habaṭa al-tanzīl li-al-ḥaqqi kāshifā*⁶⁸

I was my Lord's neighbor and He is an excellent neighbor
by His House, the Sacred Sanctuary, assiduously
I stayed, with God's permission, for full five years
and standing with determination [on the plains of ‘Arafāt] for seven times
I remained with those who made small pilgrimage⁶⁹
and spent nights with the pilgrims circumambulating the Ka‘ba
And I completed the Kashshāf, there in the city
where the revelation was sent down, unveiling the truth

The first of these visits would have taken place sometime between 500/1106 and 518/1124 when al-Zamakhsharī visited Baghdād where he met many scholars and heard *ḥadīths* from al-Baṭir, Abū Sa‘d al-Shaqqānī, and Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥārithī.⁷⁰ Afterwards, he left for Mecca and stayed there in the neighborhood of Mecca.⁷¹ Most of the biographers mention in their notes that he spent some time (*zamān-an*) or years (*sinīn*) there.⁷² However, Abū al-Fidā’ writes that al-Zamakhsharī went to Mecca for pilgrimage and stayed there many years.⁷³ Other biographers

67 Al-Andarabānī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 368; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa‘āda*, 2:100.

68 Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *Dīwān*, ed. ‘Abd al-Sattār Ḍayf (Cairo: Mu‘assasat al-Mukhtār lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzī’, 2004), 216.

69 ‘Umra is a small pilgrimage which can be performed anytime during the year. See R. Paret [E. Chaumont], “Umra,” *IE*², 10: 864.

70 Al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, 2: 315; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa‘āda*, 2:98; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:280.

71 Madelung and others are of the opinion that he moved to Mecca in the year 512/1118 after recovering from his “serious illness” (*nākiha*) and “warning” (*mundhira*). See Madelung, “al-Zamakhsharī,” *IE*² Supplement, 12:840 – 41.

72 Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* 4: 119; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān*, 5:169; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, 41.

73 ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī Abū al-Fidā’, *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, ed. Muḥammad Zaynham Muḥammad ‘Azib (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1998), 3:25.

mention that when he arrived at Mecca, al-Zamakhsharī visited his teacher 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭalḥa al-Yāburī and studied with him *Kitāb al-Sībawayh* and stayed there for five years.⁷⁴

The five year stay in Mecca is confirmed by al-Qiftī who states that the greater part of al-Zamakhsharī's life was spent in his town and not at Mecca. After his return from Mecca to Khwārazm, someone asked him, "You have spent the greater part of your life there; what was the motive for your coming back to Khwarazm?" He replied, "I find in my heart here that I do not find there" (*al-qalbu al-ladhī lā ajiduhu thamma ajiduhu hā hunā*).⁷⁵ The information provided by al-Qiftī that he stayed in Mecca for five years and al-Zamakhsharī's verse: "I stayed, with God's permission, for full five years and standing with determination [on the plains of 'Arafāt] for seven times" (*aqamtu bi-idhni Allāh khamṣan kawāmilan wa-ṣādaftu sab'an bi-al-mu'arrāf wāqifa*) proves that during his first visit al-Zamakhsharī stayed in Mecca for five years.

For the second time, al-Zamakhsharī arrived in Mecca in 526/1131 and stayed there for seven years. On his way to Mecca, he passed through Syria for a short time and praised Tāj al-Mulk Tughtakīn (d. 526/1131), the ruler of Damascus. After his death, his son Shams al-Mulk became the ruler and al-Zamakhsharī praised him too. According to al-Qiftī, Ṭāshkubrīzāda and al-Dhahabī, on his return from Mecca to Khwārazm, he visited Baghdād in 533/1138 and studied with al-Jawālīqī. All these events strongly prove that during his second visit, al-Zamakhsharī lived in Mecca for seven years from 526/1131 to 533/1138.⁷⁶ During this period, he wrote *al-Kashshāf*, which took him two years (from 526/1131 to 528/1133) to complete. He mentions in the introduction of *al-Kashshāf* that he completed the commentary of *al-Kashshāf* in two years, the duration of the caliphate of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, even though it was the work of thirty years.⁷⁷

74 Al-Andarashbānī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 368; al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn*, 7:138; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 2:100.

75 Al-Qiftī, *Inbāḥ al-ruwāt*, 3:266.

76 Rahman, *Zamakhsharī kī tafsīr*, 132–6; Ibrahim, *Theological Questions* 12; al-Qiftī, *Inbāḥ al-ruwāt*, 3:270; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 2:98; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 20:153.

77 Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq ghawāmiḍ al-tanzīl wa 'uyūn al-aqāwīl*, ed. 'Ādil Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mawjūd and 'Alī Muḥammad Mu'awwiḍ. (Riayād: Maktabat al-Abaykān, 1998), 1:98.

7 Al-Zamakhsharī's Intellectual Crisis

Abū Muḍar Maḥmūd b. Jarīr al-Ḍabbī al-Iṣfahānī, one of al-Zamakhsharī's teachers had access to the court of Nizām al-Mulk, a generous patron of scholars of religion and litterateurs.⁷⁸ It was through him that al-Zamakhsharī was introduced to Nizām al-Mulk. Al-Zamakhsharī citing his close relationship with Abū Muḍar, wrote many laudatory panegyrics for Nizām al-Mulk,⁷⁹ but unfortunately could not receive any reward or official position. He complained in his poetry that despite his high caliber scholarly works and extensive erudition he was ignored, while those people who were no match to him were rewarded and got high offices.⁸⁰

In desperation, al-Zamakhsharī left for Khurāsān and visited the vizier Mujīr al-Dawla Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Adristānī and presented his works on grammar and lexicography as well as penned down a *qaṣīda* in his praise. The vizier appreciated his works and rewarded him with one thousand *dīnārs* and a horse.⁸¹

In Khurāsān, al-Zamakhsharī also met Mu'ayyad al-Malik 'Ubayd Allāh, son of Nizām al-Mulk, who was a high executive of the "office of seals and correspondence" (*dīwān al-ṭughrā' wa al-inshā'*), and well-versed in both Arabic and Persian poetry and prose. He wrote a *qaṣīda* in his praise, however, his luck did not favor him there as well.⁸² Afterwards, al-Zamakhsharī arrived in Iṣfahān, in the court of Saljūqī Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh (d. 511/1117). He wrote panegyrics extolling the Sulṭān's services in promoting the cause of Islam and suppressing the *Bāṭiniyya* sect's activities.⁸³

Sulṭān Malik Shāh appointed Anūshtigīn as governor of Khwārazm. After Anūshtigīn's death, his son Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh became the governor. He was respectful to the people of knowledge and religion. Al-Zamakhsharī praised him for these qualities in him. After him, his son 'Alā al-Dīn Atsīz (d. 551/1156) replaced him. Al-Zamakhsharī presented Atsīz his book *Mu-*

78 'Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Iṣfahānī, *Tā'rikh dawlat Āl-Saljūq*, abridged. Al-Faṭḥ b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bundārī al-Iṣfahānī (Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīda, 1980), 32, 78–79; H. Bowen [C.E. Bosworth], "Nizām al-Mulk, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ishāq al-Tūsī," *EI*², 8:69.

79 Al-Zamakhsharī, *Dīwān*, 73 (verses 33 to 47); 76–77 (verses 24–36); 79–80 (verses 13 to 31).

80 Al-Zamakhsharī, *Dīwān*, 212–13 (verses 39 to 55).

81 Al-Zamakhsharī, *Dīwān*, 85–88 (verses 1 to 48); 98–99 (verses 1 to 29); al-Qiftī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, 3:267.

82 Al-Zamakhsharī, *Dīwān*, 153 (verses 1 to 9).

83 Al-Zamakhsharī, *Dīwān*, 280–82 (verses 1 to 28).

qaddima al-Adab which was kept in his collection of books. In the introduction of this book, al-Zamakhsharī praises Atsīz's generosity and his appreciation of *belles-lettres*.⁸⁴

However, the biographical sources, except al-Andarabānī and Ṭāshkubrīzāda,⁸⁵ indicate that al-Zamakhsharī could not develop intimate relations with high officials in any of the courts he visited. He was very eager for getting a position in the government but could not succeed in it as he often complained about it in his poetry.⁸⁶

The year 512/1118 is the most important in the life of al-Zamakhsharī. He had completed forty-five years of his life,⁸⁷ and in Rajab 512/October 1118, al-Zamakhsharī suffered a serious illness (*nāhika*) and warning (*mundhira*). Al-Zamakhsharī mentions in his book entitled *Maqāmāt* that “he saw in his early morning slumber as if someone called him loudly saying, O Abū al-Qāsim! Destined time and false expectations!” (*annahū uriya fī ba’d ighfā’āt al-fajr ka annamā ṣawwata bihi man yaqūlu lahu yā abū al-Qāsim ajal maktūb wa-‘amal makdhūb*).⁸⁸ Upon hearing these words, al-Zamakhsharī was so terrified and perplexed that he penned down some aphorisms. He further states that “this incident happened in the year 512/1118 when he was afflicted with a serious illness, which he called as the warning” (*al-wāqī’a fī sannatin ithnatayī ‘asharat ba’d al-khamisa mi’at bi al-marḍati al-nāhika allatī sammāha al-mundhira*).⁸⁹ He made a covenant with God (*mī-thāq li Allāh*) that if he were cured from the illness he would neither go to the thresholds of the rulers nor offer his services to them. He further promised to himself that he would keep his soul and tongue above in composing poetry

84 Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *Muqaddimāt al-adab* (Tehran: Mu’assassa-i-Muṭāla’āt-i-Islāmī, 2007), 1–3.

85 According to al-Andarabānī and Ṭāshkubrīzāda, al-Zamakhsharī used to be guest at the table of ministers and kings, praising them in poetry and leading a life of luxury in this world until God showed him His vision, which became the cause of his breaking up with them and turning to the matter of religion. See al-Andarabānī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 368; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa’āda*, 2:100.

86 Al-Zamakhsharī, *Dīwān*, 73 (verses 33 to 47); 79–80 (verses 13 to 31); 98–99 ((verses 1 to 29)).

87 Al-Andarabānī and Ṭāshkubrīzāda mention in their biographical notes that al-Zamakhsharī was forty-one years old. The illness (*nāhika*) and warning (*mundhira*) took place in Rajab 512/October 1118, and al-Zamakhsharī was born on Rajab 27, 467/March 18, 1075. The age of forty-one reported by both al-Andarabānī and Ṭāshkubrīzāda seems to be incorrect because he was actually forty-five years old. See al-Andarabānī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 368; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa’āda*, 2:100.

88 Al-Andarabānī and Ṭāshkubrīzāda mention book’s name as *Naṣā’ih al-kibār* which is also known as *Maqāmāt*. It has fifty *maqāmāt* (articles) and it is mentioned in the first *Maqāmat al-riḍwān*. See al-Zamakhsharī, *Maqāmāt*, 5.

89 Al-Zamakhsharī, *Maqāmāt*, 5–6.

for their praise, refrain from earning his living with their gifts and presents, “and make utmost efforts to take his name out of the official register and remove it” (*wa yajidda fī isqāṭi 'ismihi min al-dīwān wa maḥwih*).⁹⁰ He also promised that he would lead the life of guidance (*al-hudā*), desist from the desires (*al-hawā*) and devote his lifetime in pursuit of the “sciences of various readings of the Qur'ān, the tradition and jurisprudence” (*'ulūm al-qirā'āt wa al-ḥadīth wa abwāb al-shar'*).⁹¹

Brocklemann and Pellat consider al-Zamakhsharī's *Maqāmāt* as an indication of his repentance in which he addresses to himself a number of moral exhortations. However, it is not an evidence of his conversion from the previous worldly life rather it is a testimony of his decision to renounce writing profane literature. They further state that he was conscious of being a philologist and wrote a commentary (*sharḥ*) on his *Maqāmāt*.⁹²

According to Régis Blachère and Pierre Masnou, following the covenant which al-Zamakhsharī made during his serious illness, he could have turned away from profane literature and dedicated himself to writing that would edify his readers. His *Maqāmāt*, which he addressed to himself in order to stay on the straight path, would have been his eternal reward through repentance and good works. They further state that the contents of some of the *maqāmāt* show clearly that after his conversion, al-Zamakhsharī still had not changed completely and his desires remained dominated by the preoccupations of the secular world.⁹³

Al-Juwaynī's observation is that al-Zamakhsharī's works written after 513/1119 indicate that there is definitely a change in his style of writing. He specifically mentions his works entitled: *al-Mufaṣṣal fī ṣan'at al-i'rāb*, *al-Fā'iḳ fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, *Maqāmāt*, *Aṭwāq al-dhahab*, *al-Nṣā'ih al-ṣighār*, *Nawābiḥ al-kalim*, and *Rabī' al-abrār*.⁹⁴

Almost all the biographical sources except that of al-Andarabānī and Ṭāshkubrīzāda are silent about the intellectual crisis of al-Zamakhsharī. The only main source of his crisis is mentioned by al-Zamakhsharī himself in his own writings. Other than al-Zamakhsharī, both al-Andarabānī and Ṭāshkubrīzāda provide the same information about it. Despite the fact that this crisis occur-

⁹⁰ Al-Zamakhsharī, *Maqāmāt*, 6.

⁹¹ Al-Zamakhsharī, *Maqāmāt*, 6–7.

⁹² C. Brockelmann, and Ch. Pellat, “Maḳāma,” *El*², 6:107.

⁹³ Régis Blachère and Pierre Masnou, *Maqāmāt (Séances) choisies et traduites de l'arabe avec une étude sur le genre* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1957), 40–41.

⁹⁴ Muṣṭafā al-Ṣāwī al-Juwaynī, *Manhaj al-Zamakhsharī fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān wa-bayān i'jāzihi* (Miṣr: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1968), 53–62.

red when al-Zamakhsharī was forty-five years old, al-Andarasbānī and Ṭāshkubrīzāda give his age forty-one at the time.

There are no other reports about the crisis from al-Zamakhsharī's contemporaries or even later historians. The only reliable source of al-Zamakhsharī's crisis is his writings which we should accept and believe in them. After reading his *maqāmāt* and poetry, there is no reason to doubt about the veracity of his crisis. Al-Zamakhsharī might not be leading a life luxury in the company of high ranking government officials and might not have been their guest, but he was desirous to get a job in accordance with his knowledge and wanted to be appreciated and recognized for his works which were extraordinary compared with his contemporaries.

8 Al-Zamakhsharī as a Mu'tazilite Scholar

Al-Zamakhsharī was a pious person and well known for his asceticism and irreproachable private and public life. He was considered by his contemporary and subsequent scholars as one of the outstanding intellectuals and men of learning of his age. He was famous as 'pride of Khwarazm,' a great scholar of the world in many sciences. His works including *al-Kashshāf* are proof of his well established knowledge and manifestation of his excellence. Ibn Quṭlūbugha states that al-Zamakhsharī wrote unprecedented and unparalleled books, amongst them is *al-Kashshāf*, a commentary of the Qur'ān which none composed similar to it, prior to him.

Al-Andarasbānī mentions that al-Zamakhsharī reached such a level of knowledge in lexicography, grammar, rhetoric, eloquence, and poetry that he did not consider anyone equivalent to him. Al-Zamakhsharī claimed that there was no issue in the *Kitāb Sibawayh*, which had not been resolved by him. However, some scholars did not agree with him.

Al-Zamakhsharī was known for his Mu'tazilite theological position, which he professed publicly and proudly. He traveled to Khurāsān and Iraq, and in any city where he went, many people gathered around him and acquired knowledge and benefited from him. He was an erudite scholar of literature, and had close affinity with the Arabs.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā'*, 391–92; al-Yāf'ī, *Mir'āt al-janān*, 3:269; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:279; al-Andarasbānī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 368; al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, 3:181–82; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, 2:74; Ibn Abī al-Wafā', *al-Jawāhir al-muḍī'yya*, 3:447; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, 6:2691; al-Qiftī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, 3:265–66; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, 5:168; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:279; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, 41; al-Fāṣī, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn*, 7:138; Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj*

9 Conclusion

Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī was born in 467/1075 at Zamakhshar in Khwārazm, and died in 538/1144 in Jurjāniyya, where he was buried. Al-Zamakhsharī travelled for purposes of education, visited Mecca twice and stayed there for a period of approximately twelve years. His first visit took place sometime between 500/1106 and 518/1124. His second visit to Mecca was in 526/1131 and he stayed there for seven years, hence he was called with honorific title of *Jār Allāh* (Neighbor of God). During this period, he wrote *al-Kashshāf*, which is considered a model of the Mu'tazilite exegesis of the Qur'ān. No other book in the history of *tafsīr* has been commented upon in the forms of *sharḥs*, *ḥāshiyas*, and *mukhtaṣars* more than *al-Kashshāf*. Ḥājī Khalīfa in his *Kashf al-zūnūn* lists approximately fifty commentaries on *al-Kashshāf*.

The biographical dictionaries and *ṭabaqāt* works mention that al-Zamakhsharī acquired his education from approximately eleven scholars. However, most of the information available about these scholars is scanty. These sources also identify about twenty-six of his students. In most of the cases they mention what students studied with or transmitted from al-Zamakhsharī, but in some cases information regarding their fields of study is not available.

In the year 512/1118, al-Zamakhsharī experienced intellectual crisis. He mentions in his book *Maqāmāt*, that he suffered a serious illness (*nāhika*) and warning (*mundhira*).

Though there is no mention of al-Zamakhsharī's intellectual crisis by his biographers except al-Andarabānī and Ṭāshkubrīzāda, there is no reason to doubt about the veracity of his crisis.

Although of Persian origin, al-Zamakhsharī's command over Arabic was superb, and unparalleled. He was an outstanding scholar of his time who excelled in many sciences. He was bestowed with the title of *Fakhr Khawārazm* (Glory of Khawārazm) by his contemporaries. Al-Zamakhsharī's scholarly contribution covers a wide variety of fields: exegesis, traditions, jurisprudence, literature, grammar, and lexicography. The biographical dictionaries mention that al-Zamakhsharī composed approximately fifty works during his lifetime.

Chapter 2 *Al-Kashshāf*

1 Introduction of *al-Kashshāf*

Al-Kashshāf ‘an ḥaqā’iq ghawāmiḍ al-tanzīl wa ‘uyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-ta’wīl is the magnum opus of al-Zamakhsharī in which he explains the grammatical, lexicographical, and rhetorical features, variant readings and the miraculous nature (i‘jāz) of the Qur’ān.¹ In the preface to *al-Kashshāf*, al-Zamakhsharī describes the reasons for writing his exegesis of the Qur’ān. He states that, “The learned Mu’tazilite companions used to come to ask me the interpretation of a Qur’ānic verse that I would explain to them clearly and distinctively and it was acclaimed and approved by them. They expressed their desire through some eminent scholars that I should write a commentary on the entire Qur’ān, but I declined it due to my inability to embark upon such a big task.” However, they insisted upon it, and considered that it was his “individual obligation” (*fard ‘ayn*),² because of the deplorable conditions, inadequacy (of knowledge) of the masses, and lack of de-

1 Al-Andarabānī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 368; al-Sam‘anī, *al-Ansāb*, 3:181–82; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā’*, 391; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, 6:2691; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, 2:74; al-Qiftī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, 3:266; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān*, 5:168; Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī Abū al-Fidā’, *Kitāb al-Mukhtṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, ed. Muḥammad Zaynham Muḥammad ‘Azab (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1998), 3:25; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 36:487; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 20:152; Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh*, 2:63; al-Yāf‘ī, *Mir‘āt al-janān*, 3:269; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, 12:219; Ibn Abī al-Wafā, *al-Jawāhir al-muḍī‘yya*, 3:448; al-Fāsī, *al-Iqd al-thamīn*, 7:139; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, ed. Ghanīm b. ‘Abbās b. Ghanīm (Cairo: Al-Fārūq al-Ḥadītha lil-Ṭaba‘a wa al-Nashr, 1996), 7:63–64; Ibn Taghrībardi, *Nujūm al-zāhira*, 5:274; Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Tāj al-tarājim*, 53; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:280; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, 41; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, 2:315; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa‘āda*, 2:98; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 4:119; al-Laknawī, *Fawā’id al-bahīyya*, 167; al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, 8:119; Jehlami, *Ḥadā’iq al-Ḥanafīyya*, 246; Sarkis, *Mu‘jam al-maṭbū‘āt*, 1:974; Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 7:178; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifīn*, 12:186; D.A. Agius, “Some Bio-Bibliographical Notes on Abū al-Qāsim Mahmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī,” *al-‘Arabiyya* 15 (1982), 113; al-Juwaynī, *Manhaj al-Zamakhsharī*, 76; al-Ḥūfī, *al-Zamakhsharī*, 61; ‘Abd al-Sattār Ḍayf, *Jār Allāh Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī: ḥayātuhu wa-shī’ruhu* (Cairo: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1994), 80; al-Shīrāzī, *al-Zamakhsharī*, 123; Ibrahim, *Theological Questions*, 17; Raḥmān, *Zamakhsharī kī tafsīr*, 158; Brockelmann, “al-Zamakhsharī,” *El*¹, 8:1205–7; Madelung, “al-Zamakhsharī,” *El*² *Supplement*, 12:840–41.

2 *Fard ‘ayn* is an injunction or ordinance the obligation of which extends to every Muslim, such as five daily prayers and fasting during the month of Ramaḍān, etc. *Fard kifāya* is a collective duty in which the performance of an obligation by a sufficient number of Muslims excuses the other individuals from fulfilling it, such as performance of ṣalāt in congregation in the mosque, holy war, etc. See Th. W. Juynboll, “Fard,” *El*¹, 3:61.

termination in those days. Al-Zamakhsharī further states that he elaborated and commented on the opening letters (*fawātiḥ*)³ of the Qur'ānic chapters and the real meanings of the second chapter entitled “The Cow” (*al-Baqarah*) in the expectation of inculcating in his readers an appreciation of the science of exegesis. When he made the decision for return to Mecca and embarked upon his journey, he encountered people, though a few of them, enthusiastically desired to learn and benefit from his knowledge. When he reached Mecca, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā b. Ḥamza b. Wahhās (d. 526/1131), the Zaydī Imām of Mecca, insisted and urged him that he should compose his commentary. He also told him that he was planning to visit him in Khwārazm and preparing for journey to convince him to write it. Al-Zamakhsharī states that upon such insistence and desire of the people, he was left with no other choice except to comply with their request. He finished his *tafsīr* in two years despite his old age and illness, while in fact it was a job of thirty years.⁴

2 Transmission of *al-Kashshāf*

The primary sources do not provide much information about the transmission of *al-Kashshāf* after its completion. The sources mention Abū Ṣāliḥ ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. ‘Umar al-Tarjumānī, only one student of al-Zamakhsharī who studied *al-Kashshāf* with him over a period of seven years; however, there is no evidence that he transmitted it to others.⁵

Al-Fāsī states that he saw the title of *al-Kashshāf* mentioned in the *Fihris* of the jurist Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā b. Muṭayr al-Yamanī. The *Fihris* describes that Abū al-Ma‘ālī Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī al-Shaybānī, a *qāḍī* in Mecca, transmitted *al-Kashshāf* from al-Zamakhsharī to his nephew Abū al-Ma‘ālī Mājid b. Sulaymān b. al-Fihri, who then transmitted it to others. Al-Fāsī also mentions that al-Zamakhsharī granted Abū al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī, Abū Ṭāhir Barakāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Khushū‘ī, and Umm al-Mu’ayyad Zaynab bint ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sha‘riyya license (*ijāza*) to transmit *al-Kashshāf*.⁶

3 Twenty-nine *surās* of the Qur’ān begin with a group of letters which are called *fawātiḥ al-suwar*, “the openers of the *surās*,” *awā’il al-suwar*, “the beginnings of the *surās*,” *al-ḥurūf al-muqatta‘āt*, “the disconnected letters.” According to al-Suyūṭī, the *fawātiḥ* are simply mysterious letters or symbols known only to God. See A.T. Welch, “al-Ḳur’ān,” *EI*², 5:400 – 32.

4 Al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, 1:98.

5 Al-Andarabānī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 377.

6 Al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd al-thamīn*, 7:138 – 39; F. Rosenthal, “al-Fāsī,” *EI*², 2:828 – 29.

According to Gilliot, Abū al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī could be another source of transmission of *al-Kashshāf*. He moved to Alexandria in 511/1117–8 where he settled and remained until his death. He states, “The choice of Alexandria was quasi-strategic, since there he could meet Muslim intellectuals of East and West ...without leaving his domicile, and this purpose was duly achieved. His renown extended far beyond that of a traditionist and a writer since it is impossible to count the number of times that he appears in certificates of audition (*sama’āt*) or of reading, or in licenses of transmission (*ijāzāt*).” He mentions hundreds of works for which al-Silafī is credited for issuing the certificates of authenticity.⁷

Al-Zamakhsharī studied theology with Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. al-Malāḥimī and Abū Manṣūr. They were also al-Zamakhsharī’s students who studied exegesis with him. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Khwārazmī (d. ca. 560/1165) studied traditions with al-Zamakhsharī and composed his commentary on the Qur’ān. However, there is no proof in the sources that anyone of them transmitted *al-Kashshāf*.⁸

3 Manuscripts of *al-Kashshāf*

Al-Fihris al-shāmil mentions 843 manuscripts of *al-Kashshāf*, out of which 443 bear the date or century in which they were copied, and are available in various libraries and museums of the world.⁹ Out of 443 dated manuscripts, Lane analyzed 250 manuscripts most of which are in Istanbul. According to his analysis, the earliest (Feyzullāh 221, dated 542/1148) was copied only four years after al-Zamakhsharī’s death and fourteen years after he had finished the commentary in Mecca. The most recent manuscript given in *al-Fihris* is in Riyāḍ which is dated 1301/1882. This indicates that there never was a time when somebody somewhere was not copying al-Zamakhsharī’s *tafsīr*.¹⁰

Lane also describes the geographic dispersion of *al-Kashshāf*. Of the 250 manuscripts, only forty-one provide the name of the place where they were copied. The names of these places were taken directly from the actual manuscripts, not from the catalogues. All of these manuscripts have a date also, although in a

7 C. Gilliot, “al-Silafī,” *EF*², 9:607–9.

8 Al-Andarabānī, *Sīrat al-Zamakhsharī*, 368, 377, 382; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:280; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa’āda*, 2:100; al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, 8:123.

9 *Al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:368–510.

10 Lane, *Traditional Mu’tazilite Qur’ān Commentary*, 59.

few cases a definite date of a manuscript's completion is not certain. He concludes that,

These manuscripts were copied in the great capitals of the Muslim world: Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo, and Istanbul; as well as important centers and regional capitals: Aq Sarāy, Damaghān, Gaza, Hamāt, Iṣfahān, Jurjāniyya, Kāth, Konya, Mosul, Nicaea (Iznīq), Raqqa, Shīrāz, and Tabrīz. As these names indicate, from Khwārazm where the first dated manuscript was copied in 542 H, the *Kashshāf* spread to every region of the Muslim world: Khwārazm, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and Turkey.¹¹

4 Issue of *khalq al-Qur'ān*

All biographical sources mention that al-Zamakhsharī was a Mu'tazilite and adhered to the Ḥanafī school of *fiqh* and expressed his theological viewpoint publicly.¹² He was proud to be a Mu'tazilite, and it is reported that when he used to visit his friends and seek permission to enter, when asked about his identification, he would reply that Abū al-Qāsim, the Mu'tazilite was on the door (*abū al-Qāsim al-mu'tazilī bi al-bāb*).¹³

According to Ibn Khallikān, when al-Zamakhsharī composed *al-Kashshāf* the first time, he wrote in the introduction, "Praise be to God who created the Qur'ān" (*alḥamdu li-llāh alladhī khalaqa al-Qur'ān*). When he was told that if he left it behind in this form, people would renounce it and nobody would desire to read it, then he changed it with the statement, "Praise be to God who made the Qur'ān" (*alḥamdu li-llāh alladhī ja'ala al-Qur'ān*). Ibn Khallikān states that according to them (Mu'tazilites), *ja'ala* (to make) means *khalaqa* (to create) and both words have the same meaning. He further mentions that he saw in many manuscripts, "Praise be to God who revealed the Qur'ān" (*alḥamdu li-llāh alladhī anzala al-Qur'ān*); however, this amendment was made by the people and not by the author himself.¹⁴ Al-Dhahabī, al-Fāsī, and Ibn al-'Imād narrate the same account as mentioned by Ibn Khallikān.¹⁵

11 Lane, *Traditional Mu'tazilite Qur'ān Commentary*, 61.

12 Abū Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī al-tā'rikh al-mulūk wa-al-umam*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā and Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1992), 18:37–38; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, 6:2688; al-Dhahabī, *Tā'rikh al-Islām*, 36: 489; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:279; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, 41.

13 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, 5:170.

14 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, 5:170.

15 Al-Dhahabī, *Tā'rikh al-Islām*, 36:489; al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn*, 7:141; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 4:120.

Abū al-Fidā' (d. 732/1331) states that *al-Kashshāf* is the commentary (of al-Zamakhsharī) and it openly deals with the Mu'tazilite creed. He started his commentary with the statement: "Praise be to God who created the Qur'ān" (*alḥamdu li-llah alladhī khalaqa al-Qur'ān*). Then his companions modified it and wrote, "Praise be to God who made the Qur'ān" (*alḥamdu li-llah alladhī ja'ala al-Qur'ān*).¹⁶

Ibn al-Wardī mentions that his (al-Zamakhsharī's) introductory statement of *al-Kashshāf* exegesis began with, "Praise be to God who created the Qur'ān" (*alḥamdu li-llah alladhī khalaqa al-Qur'ān*). Then afterwards, he changed it with "Praise be to God who revealed the Qur'ān" (*alḥamdu li-llah alladhī anzala al-Qur'ān*).¹⁷

Al-Yāfī (d. 768/1367) describes that when he (al-Zamakhsharī) composed the book (*al-Kashshāf*), he introduced it with the statement, "Praise be to God who created the Qur'ān" (*alḥamdu li-llah alladhī khalaqa al-Qur'ān*). When he was told that if he left the book in this form, people would avoid it reading, then he changed it with the words, "Praise be to God who revealed the Qur'ān" (*alḥamdu li-llah alladhī anzala al-Qur'ān*). It is also said that it was a modification of the people, not of the writer.¹⁸

It can be observed that there are variations of accounts in the sources about two main issues. The first issue deals with the words *khalaqa* (created), *ja'ala* (made) and *anzala* (revealed) in the introduction of *al-Kashshāf*. According to Ibn Khallikān, al-Dhahabī, al-Fāsī, and Ibn al-'Imād the change was made from *khalaqa* to *ja'ala* and both words are synonymous in their meanings. On the other hand, Abū al-Fidā', Ibn al-Wardī, and al-Yāfī mention that the word *khalaqa* was substituted with *anzala* which has different meanings. The second issue concerns as to who actually made the change in the text. According to Ibn Khallikān and al-Fāsī, the amendment was made by the people and not by the author himself. However, al-Dhahabī does not mention who made the change. Abū al-Fidā' says that it was al-Zamakhsharī's companions who later modified the text, while Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349) states that the text was amended after his death and like al-Dhahabī does not specify who made it. Al-Yāfī's account is contradictory because he says that al-Zamakhsharī changed the word *khalaqa* with *anzala* himself. Then he adds that it was the correction made by the people not by the author.

¹⁶ Abū al-Fidā', *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar*, 3:25.

¹⁷ Ibn al-Wardī, *Tā'rikh* 2:63.

¹⁸ Al-Yāfī, *Mir'āt al-janān* 3:270.

There are some sources which indicate that al-Zamakhsharī did not write *khalāqa* in the introduction of his *tafsīr*. The author of *al-Qāmūs*, Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415) says, “Some scholars are of the opinion, while commenting on *al-Kashshāf* that al-Zamakhsharī wrote in his original *tafsīr* (that God) created (*khalāqa*) the Qurʾān in place of revealed (*anzala*) the Qurʾān which was changed either by the author himself or someone else safeguarding against the ostensible negative reaction of the people. However, it is completely wrong because I presented this view to my teacher Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355) who denied it vehemently.”¹⁹ According to al-Fīrūzābādī’s teacher, this statement was far from being true due to two reasons. The first is that it was of no importance for al-Zamakhsharī to write that it (the Qurʾān) was revealed. The second reason being that he did not conceal his Muʿtazilite position, rather he was proud of it. Furthermore, in the subsequent manuscripts (of *al-Kashshāf*) the meanings are very clear and it was not considered impertinent. Al-Fīrūzābādī also states, “I saw the manuscript in the handwriting of al-Zamakhsharī preserved in the mausoleum of Abū Ḥanīfa which was free from any sign of erasure or correction.”²⁰

5 Commentaries on *al-Kashshāf*

Since its inception, *al-Kashshāf* has been subject to orthodox Sunnī criticism which centered on the basic principles of Muʿtazilite theology. In fact, no other book in the history of *tafsīr* has been commented upon in the forms of *sharḥs*, *ḥāshiyas*, and *mukhtaṣars* more than *al-Kashshāf*. Hājji Khalīfa (d. 1067/1657) in his *Kashf al-ẓūnūn* lists approximately fifty commentaries.²¹ *Al-Fihris al-shāmil* mentions seventy-three *sharḥs*, *ḥāshiyas*, and *mukhtaṣars*; however, twelve of these commentaries have been written by unknown authors.²² According to Lane, more than eighty scholars have written *sharḥs*, *ḥāshiyas*, and *mukhtaṣars*. Some of these commentaries have been written by well-known scholars, while other scholars are known by the names on the manuscripts of the *sharḥs*, *ḥāshiyas*, and *mukhtaṣars* that have survived, although some works on the *Kashshāf* bear no name at all. Although more than eighty commentaries

19 Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Fīrūzābādī studied with Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī in Damascus in 750/1349 and afterwards accompanied him to Jerusalem in the same year. See H. Fleisch, “al-Fīrūzābādī,” *EI*², 2: 926–27; J. Schacht and C.E. Bosworth, “al-Subkī,” *EI*², 9:743–45.

20 Hājji Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓūnūn*, 2:1482.

21 Hājji Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓūnūn*, 2:1475–84.

22 *Al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:511–28.

have been written, none has been published in a critical edition, nor has been studied in a systematic manner. However, some of these works have been incorporated into the margins of different editions of *al-Kashshāf*.²³ With the exception of the first two printed editions of *al-Kashshāf*²⁴ all of them have two, three, or four *sharḥs*, *ḥāshiyas*, and *shawāhids* of the following authors either in the margins, or as footnotes, or at the end of al-Zamakhsharī's *tafsīr*. They are: Ibn al-Munayyir, al-Zaylā'ī, al-Jurjānī, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Muḥibb al-Dīn Afandī, and al-Marzūqī.

Ibn al-Munayyir al-Iskandarī Nāṣir al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was a great scholar in grammar, literature, Arabic, jurisprudence, theology, and exegesis. He was unparalleled in rhetoric and calligraphy. He composed *al-Intiṣāf min ṣāḥib al-Kashshāf* in which he refutes the Mu'tazilite viewpoints of *al-Kashshāf* and provides Sunnī orthodox response. However, he generously praises the lexicological and grammatical knowledge and eloquent style of al-Zamakhsharī.²⁵

Al-Zaylā'ī Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf (d. 762/1360) was a Ḥanafī jurist, *ḥadīth* transmitter and theologian who wrote *Risāla fī takhrīj aḥādīth al-Kashshāf wa-mā fīhī qīṣaṣ wa-athār*. Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449) made an abridgement of the *Risāla* entitled *al-Kāff al-shāff fī tahrīr aḥādīth al-Kashshāf*. It deals with the traditions mentioned in *al-*

²³ Lane states that, "Some of the glosses in Istanbul were of a few pages each and were usually to be found in bound manuscripts containing a number of other works or fragments. The card catalogue of the Suleymmaniye listed about thirty *ḥawāshī*, a third of which were well under 100 folios in length (the longest was 67 folios). While there were 40 to 50 copies of such well-known commentaries as those by Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī and al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī; many of the lesser known commentaries were limited to one or two copies. A few copies of the *Kashshāf* even had an anonymous *ḥāshiya* in the margins. For example, at the end of the fourth rub' of MS. Feyzullāh 223, a marginal note reads: *tammāt al-ḥāshiya* [Tuesday, 7 Ramaḍān, 772 H]. There is no indication as to whose *ḥāshiya* it is. MS. Feyzullāh 223 was completed on Wednesday, 16 Rabī' II, 777 A.H., after the gloss on the fourth rub' had been finished. This date is given at the end of the third rub', indicating that it and not the fourth rub' was the last to be copied; no name or date is given at the end of the fourth rub'. See Lane, *Traditional Mu'tazilite Qur'ān Commentary*, 86–87.

²⁴ The first edition: *The Qoran; with the commentary of the Imam Aboo al-Qasim Mahmood bin 'Omar al-Zamakhshari*, entitled "*The Kashshaf 'an Haqaiq al-Tanzil*" I-II, was edited by W. Nassau Lees [...], and Mawlawis Khadim Hosain and Abd al-Hayi, Calcutta, printed and published by W. Nassau Lees in 1856–1862. William Nassau Lees wrote a good introduction in English and described the six manuscripts he had at his disposal. He also had two or three other copies without dates. The second edition was published by Dār al-Ṭibā'a al-Miṣriyya – al-Maṭba'a al-[Amīriyya], Bulāq in 1281/1864.

²⁵ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 1:384; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2:1477; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:513; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin*, 2:161–62.

Kashshāf, and classifies them in *ṣaḥīḥ* (sound), *ḥasan* (fair), *daʿīf* (weak), and *mawḍuʿ* (spurious), and is printed in most of the *Kashshāf* editions.²⁶

Al-Jurjānī ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (d. 816/1413), called *al-Sayyid al-Sharīf*, was a Ḥanafī theologian and a great scholar in grammar, logic, law, and language of his time. In 766/1365 he went to Harāt to study under Qutb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī, but he advised him to go to his pupil Mubārakshāh in Egypt; however he stayed in Harāt. He studied with Muḥammad al-Fenārī and went with him to Egypt where he heard Mubārakshāh and Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd. According to al-Suyūṭī, he wrote more than fifty books and composed a commentary on *al-Kashshāf* which he did not finish. His other titles are commentary on al-Bayḍāwī's *Tafsīr*, commentary on *al-Muwāfiq* of al-ʿUḍad, commentary on *al-Tajrīd* of al-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī, commentary on *al-Tadhkira al-Naṣīriyya* on physiognomy, *ḥāshiya* on the commentary of al-Taftāzānī's *al-Tanqīḥ* on jurisprudence and commentary on *al-Muṭawwil* of al-Taftāzānī on rhetoric and eloquence. His *Hāshiya ʿalā tafsīr al-Kashshāf* is also an orthodox explanation of al-Zamakhsharī's *tafsīr*.²⁷

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. ʿAlī was a Shāfiʿī, *ḥadīth* scholar, *qāḍī*, historian and poet. He studied with Zakī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (d. 787/1385), Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Qaṭṭān, Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī (d. 806/1404) and ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿa (d. 819/1416). He was a prolific writer and author of approximately one hundred and fifty books. His famous titles are *Fath al-bārī*, a great commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *al-Isāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, *Lisān al-mīzān*, *Thahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʿa al-thāmina*, a commentary on *al-Irshād* which deals with al-Shāfiʿī's jurisprudence, and *Dīwān shiʿr*. He composed an abridgement of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Zaylāʿī's *Risāla fī takhrīj aḥādīth al-Kashshāf wa-ma fīhī qiṣaṣ wa-athār* entitled *al-Kāff al-shāff fī tahrīr aḥādīth al-Kashshāf*.²⁸

Muḥibb al-Dīn Afandī Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Taqī al-Dīn (d. 1014/1605) was a Ḥanafī jurist and expert in several sciences. He wrote a commentary on the *shawāhid* used by al-Zamakhsharī in the *Kashshāf* titled *Tanzīl al-āyāt ʿalā al-shawāhid min al-abyāt*. This work is included in some of the *Kashshāf* editions.²⁹

26 Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2:1481; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn*, 6:165–66.

27 Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:196–97; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn*, 7:216; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:517; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2:1479; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:517; A.S. Tritton, “Al-Djurdjānī, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad,” *EI*², 2:602–3.

28 Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2:1481; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn*, 2:20–22; F. Rosenthal, “Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsqalānī,” *EI*², 3:776–79.

29 Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn*, 3:16.

Al-Marzūqī Muḥammad ‘Aylān (d. 1355/1936) was a Shāfi‘ī theologian, Qur’ān commentator and scholar in several sciences. He is author of two books *Ḥāshiya ‘alā tafsīr al-Kashshāf* and *Mashāhid al-inṣāf ‘alā shawāhid al-Kashshāf*. Both of them are also included in most of the *Kashshāf* editions.³⁰

Al-Bayḍāwī ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar Nāṣir al-Dīn was a Shāfi‘ī theologian and reputed for wide learning. He wrote on a number of subjects including Qur’ān exegesis, law, jurisprudence, scholastic theology, and grammar. His famous work is the commentary on the Qur’ān entitled *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta’wīl* which he composed in response to *al-Kashshāf*. According to Robson, despite his refutation and amendments to the *Kashshāf*’s Mu’tazilite views, on occasions he retained them, possibly without fully realizing their significance.³¹ Watt considers, “This was intended as a manual for instruction in colleges or mosque-schools, and therefore aims at giving in concise form all that was best and soundest in previous commentaries, including important variant interpretations.”³² Al-Subkī and al-Suyūṭī also mention al-Bayḍāwī’s dependence on al-Zamakhsharī. In addition, both of them list a summarized version of the *Kashshāf* entitled *Mukhtaṣar al-Kashshāf* by him.³³

Besides Ibn al-Munayyir, al-Zayla‘ī, al-Jurjānī, Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Muḥibb al-Dīn Afandī, al-Marzūqī and al-Bayḍāwī, there are a number of commentators who wrote *ḥāshiyas* on *al-Kashshāf*. They are as follows:

1. Abū al-Baqā’ al-‘Ukbarī Muḥibb al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 616/1219) was Ḥanbalī juristprudent, grammarian, philologist, Qur’ān reciter, exegete, and transmitter of *ḥadīth*. He studied with several distinguished scholars, such as the grammarian Ibn al-Khashshāb, and with experts on *fiqh* and *qirā’āt*. He served as a répétiteur (*mu‘īd*) to Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200). According to Mohammed Yalaoui, his reputation as a grammarian and commentator attracted pupils from distant parts. Al-Suyūṭī mentions that he was trustworthy in the transmission of *ḥadīth*, excellent and distinguished in his character, much committed to religion, modest in his disposition, and frequent visitor to those who were in charge of teaching and education. Amongst his disciples were e.g. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Hibat Allāh Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (d. 655/1256), commentator on the *Nahja al-balāgha*, the biographer,

30 Kaḥḥāla, *Mu’jam al-mu’allifīn*, 11:73–74; Ziriklī, *al-A’lām*, 6:310.

31 J. Robson, “al-Bayḍāwī,” *EI*², 1:1129.

32 Montgomery Watt and Richard Bell, *Introduction to the Qur’ān* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 169.

33 Tāj al-Dīn Abū Naṣr ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Kāfi al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyya al-kubrā*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī and ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilw. (Cairo: Hijr lil-Ṭabā’a wa al-Nashr wa’l-Tawzī’ wa’l I’lān, 1992), 8:157; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:50.

al-Mundhirī (d. 656/1257), the historian, Ibn al-Najjār (d. 643/1245) and al-Dubaythī (d. 637/1239). Out of some sixty titles attributed to him, most of them deal with grammatical teaching and philological glosses on texts: the Qur'ān, ḥadīth, ancient poets and poetry, Sībawayh's *shawāhid*, the sermons of Ibn Nubāta and the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. In addition, he wrote many commentaries on well-known works. According to *al-Fihris*, he composed a gloss on *al-Kashshāf*.³⁴

2. Al-Sulamī 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Salām (d. 660/1262), renowned as "Authority of the scholars," (*sultān al-'ulamā*) was Shāfi'ī jurist and a great scholar in theology and exegesis. He studied with Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn 'Asākir (d. 620/1223), Qāḍī Jamāl al-Dīn b. al-Ḥarastānī (d. 614/1217) and Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233). He was expert in jurisprudence and his judicial approach centered around the concept of "the interest of the community" (*al-maṣāliḥ*). He was an *imām* at the Umayyad mosque in Damascus and professor of Shāfi'ī law at the Sāliḥiyya college, founded in Cairo by al-Malik al-Sāliḥ. His works include *al-Qawā'id al-kubrā* on jurisprudence, *al-Ghāya fī ikhtiṣār al-nihāya* on al-Shāfi'ī's jurisprudence, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, and *Mukhtaṣar al-Kashshāf*.³⁵
3. Al-'Iraqī 'Alam al-Dīn Abū Ishāq 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Anṣarī (d. 704/1304) was a Shāfi'ī Qur'ān exegete. He was jurisprudent, theologian, man of letters, and excellent prose writer. His work *Tahdhīb al-Kashshāf 'alā sabīl al-inṣāf* is a gloss on *al-Kashshāf* in which he defends al-Zamakhsharī against Ibn al-Munayyir's *al-Intiṣāf*. His other books are commentary on *al-Tanbīh* of al-Shīrāzī's *Furū' al-fiqh al-Shāfi'ī* and *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-karīm*.³⁶
4. Al-Sukūnī Abū 'Alī 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. al-Khalīl (d. 707/1307) was a Mālikī Qur'ān reciter, theologian, exegete, and logician. His works include *al-Manhaj al-mashriq fī al-i'tirad 'ala kathīr min ahl al-manṭiq*, and *Kitāb al-arba'in mas'ala fī uṣūl al-dīn 'alā madhhab ahl al-sunna*. In addition, he wrote *al-Tamyīz li-mā awda'ahu al-Zamakhsharī min al-i'tizal fī tafsīr al-kitāb al-'azīz* in which he criticizes the Mu'tazilite contents of *al-Kashshāf*.³⁷

34 Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:38–40; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 6:46–47; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:513; Mohammed Yalaoui, "al-'Ukbarī." *EI*², 10:790–91.

35 Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 5:249; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:527; E. Chaumont, "al-Sulamī," *EI*², 9:812–13.

36 Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2:1477; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 5:319; Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 4:53; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:514.

37 Kaḥḥāla, Ziriklī and *al-Fihris* give the title *al-Tamyīz li-mā awda'ahu al-Zamakhsharī min al-i'tizāl fī tafsīr al-kitāb al-'azīz*, whereas in Ḥajjī Khalīfa's *Kashf al-ẓunūn* the title is *Kitāb al-*

5. Al-Shīrāzī Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd (d. 710/1311) was a distinguished scholar in exegesis, jurisprudence, theology, mathematics, philosophy, astronomy, and medicine. Due to his versatility in these sciences, Abū al-Fidā' gave him the title of *al-mustafannīn* (experienced in many fields). He studied with Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Mas'ūd al-Kāzarūnī, Kamāl al-Dīn Khayr al-Kāzarūnī, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zakī al-Rushkānī, Shams al-Dīn al-Qurṭubī and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭusī. Towards the end of his life he was devoted to the study of *ḥadīth* and wrote two critical books, *Jam' uṣūl* and *Sharḥ*. According to al-Subkī and Isnawī, Quṭb al-Dīn surpassed in rational sciences (*bara'a fī al-ma'qūlāt*), and he was one of the most intelligent scholars (*ghāyat al-dhakā'*). Ibn Ḥajar mentions that his knowledge was comparable to the vastness of the sea (*buhūr al-'ilm*) and was known as one of the most erudite commentators (*shāriḥ al-'allāma*) among the contemporary distinguished scholars. This title underscores his great prestige as an intellectual. Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Muṭrib reports that he taught al-Zamakhsharī's *al-Kashahāf*, and Ibn Sīnā's (d. 428/1037) *al-Qānūn* and *al-Shifā'* in Damascus. He led the life of a Ṣūfī. He had many pupils, among them was Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī who encouraged al-Taḥṭānī (d. 766/1364) to write *Muḥākamāt* on the *Ishārāt* of Ibn Sīnā on points disputed between Naṣīr al-Dīn and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. However, he neglected his religious duties, but al-Suyūṭī mentions that in Tabrīz he always performed his *ṣalāts* with the congregation. His commentary on the *Ḥikma al-ishrāq* of Suhrawardī is undoubtedly connected with his religious attitude. Ḥajjī Khalīfa emphasizes that he distinguished himself in theology. He annotated the *Qur'ān* very thoroughly and in a fashion that won recognition in his *Fath al-mannān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*. In his *Fī mushkilāt al-Qur'ān*, he dealt with passages in the *Qur'ān* difficult to reconcile with one another. He wrote a commentary on *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl* of al-Zamakhsharī.³⁸
6. Al-Shuqqār Quṭb al-Dīn Abu al-Fath Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd (d. 712/1312) was exegete and grammarian. He wrote commentary on *al-Lubāb fī 'ilm al-i'rāb*

Tamyīz 'alā al-Kashshāf. See Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2:1482; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 7:309; Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 5:63; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:514.

38 Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, 10: 386; Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥasan Isnawī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, ed. 'Abd Allāh al-Jabūrī, (Baghdād: Ri'āsat Dīwān al-Awqāf Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1970–71), 2: 120; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mi'a al-thamāniya*, (Hyderābād Deccan: Majlis Dā'ira al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyya, 1929–32), 4:339–41; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 1: 204–5; Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2:1477; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 12:202–203; *Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:514; E. Wiedermann, "Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī," *El*², 5:547–48.

of Isfara'īnī. He also made a summary of *al-Kashshāf* entitled *Taqrīb al-tafsīr* in 698/1299.³⁹

7. Ibn al-Bannā' Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Azdī (d. 721/1321) was a mathematician and great scholar in many sciences. He composed numerous books on mathematics, rational sciences, algebra, and theology. He wrote a commentary on *al-Kashshāf*.⁴⁰
8. Al-Mardāwī Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 728/1328) was a Ḥanbalī jurist, theologian, grammarian, reciter of the Qur'ān, and exegete. Kaḥḥāla lists *Fath al-qadīr fī al-tafsīr*, Ziriklī gives the name of *Mukhtaṣar al-Kashshāf* and *al-Fihris* mentions *Mukhtaṣar al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl*.⁴¹
9. Al-Kindī 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Bakr b. Abī al-Ḥusayn (d. 741/1340) was an exegete, transmitter of ḥadīth, jurist, and qāḍī in Alexandria. Kaḥḥāla states that he composed a *tafsīr* in ten volumes. The *Fihris* mentions that he wrote a gloss entitled *al-Kafīl bi-ma'ānī al-tanzīl 'alā al-Kashshāf*.⁴²
10. Al-Ṭibī Sharf al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 743/1342) was a great scholar in a variety of sciences. Al-Suyūṭī mentions him as an eminent and famous scholar in rational sciences, Arabic, and eloquence. He quotes Ibn Ḥajar that al-Ṭibī was exceedingly intellectual who used to go deep in extracting the meanings from the Qur'ān and the traditions, in the forefront for spreading the knowledge, pleasant personality, strongly opposed to philosophy and innovation, and vehemently in love with God and His Prophet, very modest and always supporting the students in their religious sciences. He was very rich due to inheritance and his own business, but always spent his wealth in charity until he became poor in his last days. He composed his commentary on *al-Kashshāf* entitled *Futūḥ al-ghayb fī al-kashf 'an qinā' al-rayb*. His other works are *al-Kāshif 'an ḥaqā'iq*

39 The *Fihris al-shāmil* gives the year of his death 698/1299. Kaḥḥāla states that he was still alive in 712/1312, while Ziriklī writes that he died after 712/1312. Both Kaḥḥāla and Ziriklī mention that he finished *Sharḥ al-Lubāb fī 'ilm al-i'rāb lil-Isfarā'īnī* in 712/1312. Ḥājji Khalīfa considers that perhaps this Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd al-Sīrāfī al-Fālī al-Shuqqār is Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd al-Shīrāzī. See Ḥājji Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2:1481; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 12:20; Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 7:96; *al-Fihris al-shāmil* 2:527.

40 Ḥājji Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2:1482; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 2:126–27.

41 Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 2:125–26; Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 1:222–3; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:528.

42 Kaḥḥāla gives 741/1340 as the year of his death, the *Fihris* mentions 720/1320. See Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 3:316–17; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:514.

al-sunan al-nabawiyya, *al-Tibyān fī ma'ānī wa-al-bayān*, *Muqaddima fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb* and *Asmā' al-rijāl*.⁴³

11. Al-Qazwīnī Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Umar al-Fārisī (d. 745/1344) was an exegete. He wrote a commentary on *al-Kashshāf* with the title *al-Kashf 'an mushkilāt al-Kashshāf*. Kaḥḥāla mentions another book *Naṣīḥat al-muslim al-mushfiq li-man ibtilā' bi-ḥubb al-mantiq* written by him.⁴⁴
12. Al-Jārabardī Fakhr al-Dīn Abū al-Mukāram Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan (d. 746/1345–46) was a distinguished scholar and jurist. He was religious, munificent, venerable, and assiduous for knowledge and cared for the benefits of students. He composed a gloss on *al-Kashshāf* in ten volumes. Amongst his other works are commentary on *al-Ḥawī al-saghīr* of al-Qazwīnī dealing with Shāfi'ī's jurisprudence, entitled *al-Hādī*, but he did not complete the commentary on *Minhāj* of al-Bayḍāwī about the principles of jurisprudence and supercommentary of the commentary on *al-Mufaṣṣal* of Ibn al-Ḥājjib which deals with grammar.⁴⁵
13. Al-Yamanī 'Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim al-'Alawī al-Fāḍil (d. 750/1348/9) was a Shāfi'ī commentator of the Qur'ān, grammarian, and man of letters. According to al-Suyūṭī, he was well versed with *al-Kashshāf* and composed a gloss on it. Ḥājjī Khalīfa states that he wrote a commentary on *al-Kashshāf* entitled *Durar al-aṣḍāf min ḥawāshī al-Kashshāf* [*Durar al-aṣḍaf fī ḥall 'uqd al-Kashshāf*] in two volumes. Afterwards, he composed another commentary of *al-Kashshāf* which was known as *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf fī kashf ghawāmiḍ al-Kashshāf*. Kaḥḥāla and Ziriklī also mention that he wrote two glosses on *al-Kashshāf*, one *Durar al-aṣḍāf fī ḥall 'uqd al-Kashshāf* and the other *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf fī kashf ghawāmiḍ al-Kashshāf*.⁴⁶
14. Al-Taḥṭānī Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (Maḥmūd) b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 766/1364–5) was physician, philosopher, grammarian and expert in exe-

⁴³ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 1:522–3; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2:1478; al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, 8:125; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 4:53; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:515.

⁴⁴ Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2:1480; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 7:289; Ziriklī, *al-A'lām* 5:49; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:515.

⁴⁵ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 1:303; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2:1478; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 1:198–99; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:515.

⁴⁶ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:339; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2:1480; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 13:219–20; Ziriklī, *al-A'lām* 8:163; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:515.

- gesis, eloquence and religious sciences. He wrote the commentary on *al-Kashshāf* entitled *Taqrīb*.⁴⁷
15. Al-Aqsarā'ī Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. (Maḥmūd) Muḥammad (d. ca. 771/1370) was a great scholar in Arabic, religious, and rational sciences. He wrote commentary on *al-Īdāḥ fī al-ma'ānī wa-al-bayān* of al-Qazwīnī, commentary on *Majma' al-baḥrayn wa-multaqī al-nahrayn* of Ibn al-Sā'ātī which deals with Ḥanafī jurisprudence, commentary on *al-Ghāya al-quṣwa fī dirāyat al-fatwa* of al-Bayḍāwī, and commentary on *Mawjiz al-qānūn* of Ibn al-Nafīs on medicine. Ḥājji Khalīfa mentions that al-Aqsarā'ī in his commentary on *al-Kashshāf* criticized Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī's *al-Taqrīb*, a commentary on *al-Kashshāf*. 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 830/1427) defended the objections of al-Aqsarā'ī in his book *Muḥākamāt*.⁴⁸
16. Al-Dāmaghānī Iftikhār al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Naṣr Allāh b. Muḥammad (d. 775/1374) was a great scholar in rational and traditional sciences. According to Kaḥḥāla, his works include *al-Kāshif fī al-tafsīr* in seven volumes, commentary on *al-'Uyūn* of al-'Aḍad al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, commentary on *al-Ishārāt* entitled *Tanqīḥ al-'ibārāt fī tawḍīḥ al-ishārāt*, and commentary on *al-Mudrik* in logic. The *Fihris* mentions that he wrote a commentary on *al-Kashshāf* entitled *Kāshif al-sajāf 'an wajh al-Kashshāf*. Most probably, *al-Kāshif fī al-tafsīr* may be an abbreviation of *Kāshif al-sajaf 'an wajh al-Kashshāf*.⁴⁹
17. Al-Bābartī Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Dimashqī (d. 786/1384) was a Ḥanafī scholar, jurist, scholastic theologian, exegete, ḥadīth transmitter, grammarian, and an eloquent orator. He was a student of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī. He wrote commentary on *al-Kashshāf*. His other works include commentary on *al-Mashāriq*, commentary on *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn Ḥājib, commentary on *'Aqida al-Ṭūsī*, commentary on *al-Hidāya* on jurisprudence, commentary on *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mu'aṭ on grammar, commentary on *al-Manār*, and commentary on *al-Bazdawwī*.⁵⁰

47 Ḥājji Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2:1478; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 11:215–16; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:525.

48 Kaḥḥāla gives al-Aqsarā'ī's year of death 771/1370, while the *Fihris* mentions that he was alive in 780/1379. See Ḥājji Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2:1478; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 11:192; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:516.

49 Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 12:78–9; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:516.

50 Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 1:239–40; Ḥājji Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2:1478; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 11:298–99.

18. Al-Kirmānī Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī (d. 786/1384) was an outstanding scholar in jurisprudence, *ḥadīth*, Qur’ān commentary, eloquence, and Arabic. In addition to *Unmūdhaj al-Kashshāf* which is an abstract of *al-Kashshāf*, he composed commentaries on *Tafsīr al-Baydāwī*, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *al-Muwāfiq*, *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥāḥib entitled *al-Sab‘a al-sayyārah*, *al-Fawā’id al-Ghayāthiyya* on rhetorics and *al-Jawāhir*.⁵¹
19. Al-Taftāzānī Sa’d al-Dīn Mas’ūd b. ‘Umar (d. 793/1390) known as “*al-‘allāma*” was a renowned scholar of grammar, rhetoric, law, theology, logic, and exegesis of the Qur’ān. He was expert in both Ḥanafī and Shāfi‘ī law and *uṣūl*. Faṣīḥ al-Āwāfī mentions in *Faryūmad* that al-Taftāzānī completed his commentary on *al-Taṣrīf al-‘Izzī* by al-Zanjānī on Arabic morphology in 738/1338 at the age of sixteen. He became attached to the ruler of Harāt. Mu‘izz al-Dīn Kart, to whom he dedicated his *Sharḥ al-Talkhīṣ al-muṭawwal* in 748/1347. Then he joined Jānī Beg, Khān of the Golden Horde to whom he dedicated his *Mukhtaṣar al-ma‘ānī* in 756/1355. When Tīmūr conquered Khwārazm in 759/1379, Mu‘izz al-Dīn Kart’s son Malik Muḥammad, ruler of Sarkhs, asked his nephew Pīr Muḥammad b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn to obtain Tīmūr’s permission for al-Taftāzānī to join him in Sarkhs and he was there in 782/1380. Subsequently, due to his eminence in scholarship, Tīmūr insisted that he come to Samarqand. Al-Taftāzānī accepted the offer and stayed there until his death in 793/1390. However, during this period a scholarly rivalry took place between him and al-Sharīf ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, whom Tīmūr brought to Samarqand after his conquest of Sīrāz in 789/1387. A public debate between him and al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī took place in the presence of Tīmūr, about al-Zamakhsharī’s exegesis of Qur’ān.⁵² The Mu‘tazilite scholar Nu‘mān al-Dīn al-Khwārazmī judged in favor of al-Jurjānī and Tīmūr backed him. It is said that al-Taftāzānī’s severe grief about this defeat might have hastened his end. His body was carried to Sarkhs where he was buried. Al-Taftāzānī’s fame rests mainly on his commentaries on well-known works in various fields of learning. Later scholars wrote supercommentaries on many of them. His works are commentary on *al-Kashshāf* which was not completed, a Persian commentary on the Qur’ān entitled *Kashf al-asrār wa-‘uddat al-abrār*, a Turkish versified translation of

51 Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 1:279–80; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifīn*, 13:326.

52 It was with regard to the āya 5 of *Sūra al-Baqara*: “They are guided by their Lord and they will be successful” (*‘ulā’ika ‘alā hudan min rabbihim wa ‘ulā’ika hum al-muhtadūn*).

Sa'dī's *Būstān*, *al-Maqāṣid* on theology, *al-Miftāḥ* on Shāfi'ī law, and a collection of Ḥanafī *fatwās*.⁵³

20. Al-Bulqīnī Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. Raslān (d. 805/1403) was the most celebrated jurist of his age, exegete, scholastic theologian, grammarian, and poet. According to Gibb, he was honored by the title of *Shaykh al-Islām*, ranked along with or above the grand *qādīs*, and regarded by some as the *mujaddid* of the eighth century. He composed a commentary on *al-Kashshāf* in three volumes. His other works are *al-Tadrīb* on Shafi'ī's jurisprudence which he could not complete, *Taṣḥīḥ al-minhāj* in six volumes on jurisprudence and *Mahāṣin al-iṣṭilāḥ* on *ḥadīth*.⁵⁴
21. Al-Mu'ayyad bi-Allāh Fakhr al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. al-Hādī b. Yahyā b. Hamzā (d. ca. 810/1407) was Zaydī Shī'ite and composed a brief of *al-Kashshāf* entitled *al-Jawhar al-shaffāf al-multaqaṭ min maghāṣat al-Kashshāf*.⁵⁵
22. Al-Firūzābādī Majd al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb's (d. 817/1415) works were concentrated on the subjects of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, and history, but he excelled in lexicography. According to Ḥājji Khalīfa, he wrote two commentaries on *al-Kashshāf*, the first entitled *Quṭbat al-kkashshāf li-ḥall khuṭbāt al-Kashshāf* and the second *Naghat al-rashshāf min khuṭbāt al-Kashshāf*. He wrote more than fifty works, but his most celebrated book is *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ wa-al-qābūs al-wasīṭ al-jāmi' li-mā dhahaba min kalām al-'Arab shamaṭīṭ*. He wished to write a dictionary in sixty or it is said, in one hundred volumes. His other books are *al-Lāmi' al-'ilm al-'ujāb*, *al-jāmi' bayn al-muḥkam wa-al-'ubāb* which only reached the fifth volume and was not completed, *Fath al-bārī bi-al-samīḥ al-fasīḥ al-jārī* on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and many other titles.⁵⁶
23. Al-'Irāqī Walī al-Dīn Abū Zar'a Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm (d. 826/1423) was a Shāfi'ī jurist, theologian, *ḥadīth* transmitter and expert in some sciences. He was a *qādī* and professor. He wrote commentary on *Jam'a al-jawāmi'* of al-Subkī on jurisprudence and commentary on *al-Bahja al-wardiyya* on al-Shāfi'ī's jurisprudence. He wrote an abstract of Ibn al-Munayyir's *al-Insāf 'alā*

53 Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 2:285; Ḥājji Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2:1478; al-Khavānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, 8:125; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 12:228–29; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:516; W. Madelung, "al-Taftāzānī," *EF*², 10:88–89.

54 Ḥājji Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2:1479; Ziriklī, *al-'lām* 5:46; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 7:284–85; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:517; H.A.R. Gibb, "al-Bulqīnī," *EF*², 1:1308–9.

55 Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 6:16; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:517.

56 Ḥājji Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2:1480; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 12:118–19; *al-Fihris al-shāmil*, 2:525; Fleisch, "al-Firūzābādī," *EF*², 2:926–27.